BULLETIN

OF

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

MANCHESTER

19 September 1973

EDITED BY

THE LIBRARIAN

(HENRY GUPPY)

VOLUME 18

1934

Reprinted by permission of The John Rylands Library
KRAUS REPRINT LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1967

Printed in Germany

Lessing-Druckerei – Wiesbaden

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Notes and News:

Robert Seymour Conway, p. 1; Prof. James Tait, p. 3; The "Codex Sinaiticus," pp. 4, 276; Notable London MS., p. 8; Rendel Harris and the "Odes of Solomon," p. 10; Printed Book Illustration in the 15th Century, p. 11; Building Methods in Sumer, p. 12; Ryland's Zenon Papyri, p. 12; Arabic MSS. in the J.R.L., pp. 14, 277; Malory's Morte d'Arthur, p. 15; Stanley Hooton Charters, p. 16; Lancashire Catholics, p. 16; Deposited Documents, p. 17; Access to Records, p. 17; Rylands Public Lectures, pp. 19, 285; Rylands Bulletin Reprints, p. 19; Accessions to the Library, pp. 20, 285; Gifts to the Library, pp. 31, 295; Manchester University, p. 249; Founders' Day Commemoration, p. 252; King's Birthday Honours, p. 258; Thomas Eric Peet, p. 259; Francis Llewellyn Griffith, p. 260; Arthur Surridge Hunt, p. 263; Tindale's Revision of the New Testament, p. 264; Milton's "Comus," p. 268; Tatian's "Diatessaron," p. 271; German Library of Burned Books, p. 272; Ruskin's Home, p. 274; Business History, p. 280; Samuel Oldknow Papers, p. 282; Cheshire Deeds and Papers, p. 284; Cambridge University Library, p. 284.

Charlton (H. B.). Shakespeare's Jew 34

Dodd (C. H.). The Mind of Paul: Change and Development . 69

Edgar (C. C.). A New Group of Zenon Papyri 111

Fairley (Barker). Nietzsche and Goethe 298

Fish (T.). Aspects of Sumerian Civilisation, 1: about Building in Ur III 131

Fish (T.). Aspects of Sumerian Civilisation, 2: about Wool . . 315

Fleure (H. J.). Prehistoric Elements in our Heritage . . . 325

Jacob (E. F.). Sir John Fortescue and the Law of Nature . . 359

Lewis (N. B.). The Abolitionist Movement in Sheffield, 1823-33 . 377

Margoliouth (D. S.). The Arabic Papyri in the J.R.L. . . . 140

Montague (F. C.). Some Early Letters of Mark Pattison . . 156

Tyson (M.). A Review and other Writings of Charles Dickens . 177

Tyson (M.). Hand-list of Charters, Deeds and similar Documents in the possession of the J.R.L. 11 (3) 393

Zamick (M.). Some Unpublished Letters from A. H. Hallam at Eton 197

THE TRUSTEES, GOVERNORS, AND OFFICIALS OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY IN 1934.

TRUSTEES:

The EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, K.T., F.R.S.
GERARD N. FORD, J.P.
The MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, M.P.
SIR ALFRED HOPKINSON, K.C., LL.D., etc.
W. ARNOLD LINNELL.
J. W. MARSDEN, J.P.
SIR HENRY A. MIERS, D.Sc., F.R.S., etc.
SIR EVAN SPICER, J.P.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNORS:*

J. HAROLD BROWN.
H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.
SIR WILLIAM DAVY, J.P.
BARKER FAIRLEY, M.A., PH.D.
GERARD N. FORD, J.P.
E. F. JACOB, M.A., D.PHIL.
J. W. MARSDEN, J.P.
SIR WALTER H. MOBERLY, D.S.O., M.A., LITT.D.
R. W. SHEPHERD.
L. R. STRANGEWAYS, M.A.

CO-OPTATIVE GOVERNORS:*

The RT. REV. THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER, D.D.
The REV. C. H. DODD, M.A., D.D.
The Rev. A. J. D. FARRER, B.A.
The REV. GEORGE JACKSON, B.A., D.D.
SIR ALFRED J. LAW, J.P., M.P.
SIR CHRISTOPHER T. NEEDHAM, B.A., J.P.
The REV. F. J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D., D.D.
The REV. A. C. UNDERWOOD, M.A., B.LITT., D.D.

* *The Representative and Co-optative Governors constitute the Council.*

HONORARY GOVERNORS:†

SIR A. HOPKINSON, K.C., LL.D., etc.
The RT. REV. BISHOP E. A. KNOX, D.D.
SIR HENRY A. MIERS, D.Sc., F.R.S., etc.
The LORD MAYOR OF MANCHESTER.
The MAYOR OF SALFORD.

† *Honorary Governors are not Members of the Council.*

CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL ...	J. W. MARSDEN, J.P.
VICE-CHAIRMAN	SIR WALTER H. MOBERLY, D.S.O., M.A., LITT.D.
HONORARY TREASURER ...	SIR WILLIAM DAVY, J.P.
HONORARY SECRETARY ...	GERARD N. FORD, J.P.
LIBRARIAN	HENRY GUPPY, M.A., D.Ph. et Litt., Litt.D.
SUB-LIBRARIAN	GUTHRIE VINE, M.A.
KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS	MOSES TYSON, M.A., PH.D.
ASSISTANT-SECRETARY... ...	JAMES JONES.
ASSISTANT-LIBRARIANS ...	JULIAN PEACOCK; W. W. ROBERTS, B.A.; MABEL WOODCOCK, M.A.; ANNIE B. RANKIN, B.A.; T. MURGATROYD; RONALD HALL, B.A.
ASSISTANTS	V. D. SHREWSBURY; T. WHITTAKER; J. FILDES; W. LOWNDES.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

1. The use of the Library is restricted to purposes of research and reference, and under no pretence whatever must any Book, Manuscript, or Map be removed from the building.

2. The Library is open to holders of Readers' Tickets daily, as follows: Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Tuesdays and Fridays, from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Saturdays, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

   The Library will be closed on Sundays, Good Friday to the following Tuesday, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Bank Holidays, and the whole of Whit-week.

3. Persons desirous of being admitted to read in the Library must apply in writing to the Librarian, specifying their profession or business, their place of abode, and the particular purpose for which they seek admission.*

4. Every such application must be made at least two clear days before admission is required, and must bear the signature and full address of a person of recognised position, whose address can be identified from the ordinary sources of reference, certifying from personal knowledge of the applicant that he or she will make proper use of the Library.

5. If such application or recommendation be unsatisfactory, the Librarian shall withhold admission and submit the case to the Council of Governors for their decision.

6. The Tickets of Admission, which are available for twelve months, are not transferable, and must be produced when required.

7. No person under eighteen years of age is admissible, except under a special order from the Council of Governors.

8. Readers may not write upon, damage, turn down the leaves, or make any mark upon any Book, Manuscript, or Map belonging to the Library; nor may they lay the paper on which they are writing upon any Book, Manuscript, or Map.

9. The erasure of any mark or writing on any Book, Manuscript, or Map is strictly prohibited.

10. No tracing shall be allowed to be made without express permission of the Librarian.

11. Books in the Open Reference Shelves may be consulted without any formality, but after use they are to be left on the tables instead of being replaced on the shelves.

12. Other books may be obtained by presenting to the Assistant at the counter one of the printed application slips properly filled up.

* Forms of Application for Reader's Ticket may be had on application to the Librarian.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

13. Readers before leaving the Library are required to return to the Assistant at the counter all Books, Manuscripts, or Maps for which they have given tickets, and must reclaim their tickets. Readers are held responsible for such Books, Manuscripts, or Maps so long as the tickets remain uncancelled.

14. Books of great value and rarity may be consulted only in the presence of the Librarian or one of his Assistants.

15. Readers before entering the Library must deposit all wraps, canes, umbrellas, parcels, etc., at the Porter's Lodge in the Vestibule, and receive a check for same.

16. Conversation, loud talking, and smoking are strictly prohibited in every part of the building.

17. Readers are not allowed in any other part of the building save the Library without a special permit.

18. Readers and visitors to the Library are strictly forbidden to offer any fee or gratuity to any attendant or servant.

19. Any infringement of these Rules will render the privilege of admission liable to forfeiture.

20. The privilege of admission is granted upon the following conditions:—
    (*a*) That it may at any time be suspended by the Librarian.
    (*b*) That it may at any time be withdrawn by the Council of Governors.

21. Complaints about the service of the Library should be made to the Librarian immediately after the occurrence of the cause for complaint, and if written must be signed with the writer's name and address.

22. All communications respecting the use of the Library must be addressed to the Librarian.

HENRY GUPPY.

N.B.—It is earnestly requested that any Reader observing a defect in or damage to any Book, Manuscript, or Map will point out the same to the Librarian.

ADMISSION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC AND VISITORS.

The general public are admitted to view the Library on Tuesday and Friday afternoons between the hours of two and six. Visitors to Manchester from a distance, at any other time when the Library is open, will be admitted for the same purpose upon application to the Librarian.

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 18 JANUARY, 1934 No. 1

NOTES AND NEWS.

IT is with deep regret that we have to record the death of Robert Seymour Conway, a Latin scholar of international reputation, who for a quarter of a century was Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester. His death took place in the seventieth year of his age, after an operation in a London nursing home, on Thursday, the 28th of September last.

ROBERT SEYMOUR CONWAY.

Professor Conway, the son of the Reverend Samuel Conway, was born in 1864, at Walthamstow. He was educated at the City of London School and at Caius College, Cambridge, of which he was a scholar and later became a Fellow. He was Lecturer at Newnham College from 1887 to 1893, in which year he was appointed Professor of Latin in University College, Cardiff, where, during ten years, he built up a reputation as a gifted philologist and an indefatigable worker.

In 1903 he came to Manchester as Hulme Professor of Latin, a position he occupied for more than a quarter of a century, to the great enrichment of his own renown as a classical scholar, and to the advantage of his students. The high reputation of the department of classics at Manchester is largely due to him. Thanks to his inspiring influence Manchester became a centre of Vergilian study, and many of Professor Conway's students have themselves become famous in that particular field of research.

Since his retirement from Manchester in 1929 Professor Conway had settled in St. Albans, and had been engaged on the preparation of a critical edition of Vergil, designed to supersede Conington's text. He was also much interested in Livy and partly in collaboration with the late Professor Walters, had published a critical edition. But Vergil was the favourite theme of his teaching and writing throughout his Manchester career,

and it is not too much to say that his published lectures played no small part in rescuing the poet from the clutches of dull pedantic criticism.

Throughout the years of his residence in Manchester, and since his retirement to St. Albans, Professor Conway had been a regular and welcome contributor to the Rylands series of public lectures, and any syllabus in which his name did not appear would have been regarded as incomplete. He was a most illuminating lecturer, and in the course of his interpretations it became evident that he had caught some of Petrarch's spirit and devotion to classical studies. To him Vergil and Horace and Cicero were not mysteriously distant beings but friends, whose teaching he not only expounded but at times dared even to criticise. Professor Conway was to have opened the present series of our lectures on the 4th of October, but, to our great loss, death intervened. The Rylands lectures, which were amongst his most penetrating studies, have appeared in an amplified form in the pages of this BULLETIN, and it is but bare justice to say that his contributions have assisted very materially to give to the BULLETIN the character which has secured for it a place among the periodicals of a genuine scholarly standing, and will remain a lasting memorial to his scholarship.

Professor Conway was the author of many books and articles on classical subjects. He is perhaps best known by his work on "The Italic Dialects" (1897), and at the time of his death he was at work upon a study of "The Prae-Italic Dialects," the first volume of which was published last year.

Since his retirement Professor Conway had lectured in the United States. In 1930 he was Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer in the American Institute of Archæology, and in 1932, he was Classical Lecturer to the University of California. Last year he also delivered the Hibbert Lectures, taking for his subject "Ancient Italy and Modern Religion." Since his death these lectures have made their appearance in printed form.

He took great interest in Lancashire antiquities, initiating and fostering the excavation of Roman sites in the county. His reasons for settling at St. Albans were that he would be within easier reach of London and would be able to assist in

the direction of the excavations of the Roman site of that city which was being opened up. He was a devoted supporter of the Classical Association, of which he was president in 1926. He was a Doctor of Letters of Cambridge, and had had honorary doctorates conferred upon him by several of our own and foreign universities. The King of Italy had conferred upon him the title of Commendatore.

Dr. James Tait, F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Ancient and Mediæval History of the University of Manchester, who was honoured on the 19th of May of last year, by his own University of Oxford, when the honorary degree of D.Litt. was conferred upon him, was again honoured on the 19th of December, on this occasion by his pupils, colleagues and friends of the University of Manchester, on whose behalf the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, presented him with a volume of essays, edited by Professor J. G. Edwards, Mr. V. H. Galbraith, and Professor E. F. Jacob, and containing thirty-two original essays and a bibliography by distinguished historical scholars, who wished to make some suitable recognition of the completion of his seventieth year.

PROFESSOR JAMES TAIT.

In handing over of the volume, Lord Crawford said: "This is the homage of a happy, grateful family, consisting of your friends, your scholars, and your colleagues."

Before the presentation speeches in praise of the work of Professor Tait were made by Dr. A. G. Little, Professor F. M. Powicke, Professor E. F. Jacob, and Professor Edward Fiddes, Dr. Little pointed out the close association between Balliol College, Oxford, and the History School of the University of Manchester, and explained the great influence of Professor Tait on the writing of local history, not only in his own works, but also in the writings of his pupils. That influence extended far and wide, and it raised the writing of local history from the antiquarian to the historical level.

Professor Powicke said that he could speak on behalf of his colleagues at Oxford in saying how glad they were that his old college had made Professor Tait an honorary fellow, and that his university had given him an honorary degree. Referring to

Professor Tait's kindly criticism, he said that he did not think there ever had been a man who could so neatly and so rightly expose some fallacy and yet he always did it as if he were working alongside one. " I was always afraid of that gentle opening," he added, " If this is true, how do you account for this and that ? " If he said that, it always meant that some pretentious structure was about to tumble. The volume of essays which they now presented, said Professor Powicke in conclusion, was a tribute and an expression of their very deep gratitude and affection.

Professor E. F. Jacob added a tribute on behalf of the younger element in the university, and of the people who had succeeded that distinguished generation to which Professor Tait belonged, and made special reference to his valuable work as chairman of the Manchester University Press.

Professor Tait's oldest Manchester friend, Professor Fiddes, recalled his part in the reconstitution of Manchester University, in the remodelling of the faculty, and in the construction of the arts building. His constancy in work and in friendship was his most notable characteristic, added Professor Fiddes.

In returning thanks, Professor Tait said he could not take the whole honour to himself, but was conscious that it was in large part a tribute to the history school, with which he had been associated since its inception, well over half a century ago. Those first days had been the days of small things. The total number of students was less than a third of what it is now. Nowadays the average number of graduates from the history school was twenty—as many as the accommodation of the staff could manage. Speaking of the influence of Sir Adolphus Ward and Professor Tout, on the history school, he said that it was Tout who built up the school of history on the scientific lines, which, until then, had been confined to foreign universities, and emphasised the duty of a university to provide its ablest men with additional training in such a way as to make not amateurs but professionals.

THE CODEX SINAITICUS.

Never before has the purchase of a single manuscript been greeted with such a chorus of approval and delight as that which followed the sensational announcement made by the Prime Minister, on the 20th of December, in

the House of Commons, that "The Trustees of the British Museum have with the approval of His Majesty's Government, agreed to purchase from the Government of the Soviet Republics, the famous 'Codex Sinaiticus,' at a price of £100,000, and that His Majesty's Government have undertaken to make a special contribution towards the purchase price of £1 for every pound subscribed by the public, and that an immediate appeal will be made to the public by the Trustees."

The appeal by the Trustees of the British Museum has been launched, and already contributions are flowing in.

The friends of the National Libraries have interpreted this appeal as a challenge to them to do what they can, and to help the Trustees to raise the necessary sum the Executive Committee has forthwith agreed to vote £500 from the general funds of the Society, at the same time authorizing the officers to make an appeal to the members for their support.

Since 1859, when the "Codex Sinaiticus" was presented to the Tsar of Russia, the three earliest and most important Greek manuscripts of the Bible have been in the keeping of the three great divisions of the Christian Church: The "Codex Vaticanus" in the Vatican, as representing the Western or Roman Catholic Church; the "Codex Sinaiticus," until its recent transfer, in the Imperial, later the State Library, at St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), as representing the Churches of the East, of which, the Tsar, at the time the Codex was presented to him, was the Protector; and the "Codex Alexandrinus" in the British Museum, as representing the Reformed or Protestant Churches.

With the transfer of the "Sinaiticus" to London, England is now in proud possession of two out of the three great manuscripts, a fact which will send a thrill through the heart of every one who is interested in the history of the Bible.

There is all the glamour of romance surrounding the story of the discovery of this manuscript in the monastery of St. Catharine, at Mount Sinai, by the great German Biblical scholar, Constantine Tischendorf, who, already in 1844, when as a young man he paid his first visit to the monastery, was recognised as one of the chief authorities on the text of the Greek New Testament.

We must resist the temptation to recall the romantic story of

his discoveries, for it has been so recently related in the press as to render repetition here unnecessary. Sir Frederick Kenyon, in his account of the transaction of the purchase of the codex, which appeared in *The Times* of the 21st of December, briefly recalled the story.

THE RYLANDS APPEAL.

In response to a request received from Sir George Hill, the Director of the British Museum, for any assistance we can render in making the appeal known within the sphere of this library's influence, we have placed on exhibition in the main reading-room, the full-size photographic reproductions of four of the principal manuscripts, including "Codex Sinaiticus," upon which the text of the Bible is based.

The object of the exhibition is not only to satisfy the curiosity which has been so generally aroused by the acquisition for the nation of the famous codex, but to offer an opportunity to those interested (and who is not?) to assist the Trustees of the Museum in raising the sum of £50,000, which they have to contribute towards the purchase price.

To this end, we have followed the excellent lead of the Museum authorities by placing on the table upon which the facsimiles have been displayed, a box for the contributions of those who may prefer to give anonymously.

We have also undertaken to receive and to forward to the Director of the British Museum any cheques or other money which may be entrusted to us for that purpose, and we have ventured to express the hope that a substantial contribution towards the cost of acquiring this priceless manuscript for the nation will be made by the people of Manchester and district.

We have been greatly indebted to the newspapers for their help in making this project known.

The reproductions now on view, with the help of the accompanying notes, enable visitors to form an excellent idea of what the originals look like, and also to place the "Codex Sinaiticus" in its place among the various Biblical sources.

It may not be out of place briefly to describe the four codices represented by the fascimiles exhibited.

The "Codex Sinaiticus" (known by the symbol "ℵ"), a

Greek uncial manuscript of the middle fourth century, contains the whole of the New Testament, and two apocryphal works, "The Epistle of St. Barnabas" and the "Shepherd of Hermas," filling together 148 leaves. Of the Old Testament there are 245 leaves, about two-fifths of the whole, of which 43 leaves, rescued by Tischendorf on the occasion of his first visit to the monastery in 1844 from a basket of stray leaves on their way to the furnace, and presented by him on his return to King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, are now preserved in the Library of the University of Leipzig, and are known as the "Codex Friderico-Augustanus." Facsimiles of these leaves are also shown.

The portions of the Old Testament which survive are: Fragments of Gen. 23 and 24, and Num. 5-6; 1 Chron. 9 (27)-19 (17); 2 Esdras [Ezra] 9 (9) to end; Nehemiah, Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 Macc., 4 Macc., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations 1 (1)-2 (20); the Minor Prophets (except Hosea, Amos and Micah); Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Job. Of the foregoing the Leipzig fragment contains portions of Chronicles, 2 Esdras, Esther, Tobit, Jeremiah, and Lamentations.

The "Codex Vaticanus" (known as "B"), also a Greek uncial manuscript of the middle of the fourth century, contains the whole of the Greek Bible, except the beginning of Genesis as far as 46 (28), Psalms 106-138, the latter part of Hebrews, from chapter 9 (4), the Catholic Epistles, and the whole of the Apocalypse. It has been preserved in the Vatican Library since about 1450.

The "Codex Alexandrinus" (known as "A"), is a Greek uncial manuscript of the fifth century, which originally contained the whole of the Greek Bible, with the addition of the two Epistles of Clement of Rome; but it has lost in the Old Testament: Genesis 14 (14-17), 15 (1-5), (16-19), 16 (6-9); 1 Kings 12 (20)-14 (9); Psalms 50 (20)-80 (11); and in the New Testament the whole of St. Matthew's Gospel to chapter 25 (6); John 6 (50)-8 (52); 2 Cor. 4 (13)-12 (6); one leaf of the first Epistle of Clement, and the greater part of the second Epistle. In 1624 this manuscript was offered by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Sir Thomas Roe, our ambassador in Turkey, for presentation to King James I. King James died before the

manuscript started for England, and the offer was transferred to Charles I. In 1627 the gift was actually accomplished, and the MS. remained in the possession of our sovereigns until the Royal Library was presented to the nation by King George II.

The fourth in importance of the early Biblical manuscripts, the "Codex Ephraemi" (known by the symbol "C"), is a palimpsest, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The upper writing consists of the works of S. Ephraem of Syria, probably in a twelfth century hand, whilst the underwriting is of the fifth century, perhaps a little later than the "Codex Alexandrinus." Unfortunately, no facsimile of this manuscript has been published.

The "Codex Bezae" (known by the symbol "D"), of which a facsimile is exhibited, is the earliest example (sixth century) of a Bible in two languages. It contains both Greek and Latin texts in uncial letters facing one another on opposite pages: Greek on the left, Latin on the right.

The MS. was written probably in the South of France, perhaps at Lyons. It was at Lyons in 1562, when Theodore Beza, the disciple of Calvin and the editor of numerous editions of the New Testament, procured it, probably after the sack of the city by the Huguenots in that year; and by Beza, from whom it derives its name, it was presented in 1581 to the University of Cambridge, where it is still preserved.

The great importance of the newly acquired "Codex Sinaiticus" will be better understood when it is realised that of the three principal codices it is the only one to contain the whole of the text of the New Testament.

Had Tischendorf not gone to Mount Sinai in 1844 in his quest for manuscripts, the whole codex would probably have been consigned to the furnace!

NOTABLE LONDON MANUSCRIPT.

In a recent issue of *The Times* Professor A. F. Pollard contributed an interesting description of an unpublished and almost unknown Chronicle of London, and the announcement on the following day by the Guildhall Librarian that this important manuscript has been generously presented by Lord Wakefield to the Library of the Corporation of London, must have excited a widespread interest

by no means confined to students of mediæval history. The book is, we are told, "incomparably the finest manuscript of any English city chronicle known to be extant," and as at one time it "belonged to Robert Fabyan, Alderman of London, and Sheriff in 1493," its new home is peculiarly appropriate.

In view of this discovery it may not be out of place to bring to the notice of the general reader the fact, well enough known to students of medieval history, that Manchester possesses a very notable London book. This is a volume written at the latest in the early years of King John's reign, probably for the London Guildhall. It contains a collection of English laws from the time of Ine, the West-Saxon king, to that of Henry I., and provides, to quote the late Dr. Liebermann, "the earliest text not only of the whole collection *Leges Anglorum*, but also of two most important documents embodied in it, viz. of *Leges Henrici I.*, and of Henry I.'s London charter in the form which mentions for the first time the London *ward-imòt*." This manuscript was discovered in a well-known London bookshop in 1909, and was acquired for the John Rylands Library. An article by Liebermann, describing this volume, appeared in the *English Historical Review* in October, 1913. Liebermann had discovered fragments of the collection in volumes written in 1210 and 1230, but knew of no manuscript with the whole collection earlier than 1310. Years earlier, however, in 1894, that great scholar had come to the following conclusions: someone, evidently a Londoner, had compiled during the reign of King John a large law book by joining together in narrative form, by means of genealogical and historical notes concerning the various kings, selections of laws and ordinances; and this compiler, indulging a desire to glorify London as the head of a "Pan-Britannic" empire, had not hesitated occasionally to stoop to forgery. Liebermann had attempted, from the late manuscripts known to him, to reconstruct this collection by cutting out what he considered were interpolations. In this contemporary manuscript in the Rylands Library he had the satisfaction of verifying the correctness of his earlier deductions, the brilliance of which had filled with admiration the late Professors Maitland and Tout.

"DEAR DR. GUPPY,—I want to send a message to you and through you to my many friends who are readers of the Rylands BULLETIN on a matter which, although it concerns myself most of all, is not without interest to a wide circle of scholars. RENDEL HARRIS AND THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

"The fact is that I was startled this week to find that I was keeping an anniversary—the 25th anniversary of the discovery of the lost Christian Psalter which goes under the name of the 'Odes of Solomon.'

"The fourth of January, 1909, will always be a red-letter day in my calendar, for it was on that day when I was assiduously engaged in sorting a mass of weather stained and water stained documents from the East, that I stumbled upon a little book which I took at first sight to be merely a late copy of the Syriac Psalter, one of the commonest amongst the transcribed books of the Bible. Closer inspection showed me that it was nothing of the kind, and three steps across the room brought me to a bookshelf on which stood the volume containing five psalms written in the Coptic language, and professing to be taken from the lost book of the 'Odes of Solomon.' The verification which followed showed that I had really recovered in Syriac nearly the whole of the lost collection. Now you will understand that the 25th anniversary of such a discovery can hardly be restricted to my own enjoyment. For did you not acquire the book for the great Rylands Collection? And in acquiring it did you not by natural sequence annex to the same library the former owner of the same MS.? And did you not associate with him after a little while Dr. Alphonse Mingana the prince of modern Syriac scholars? And did we not combine to produce with the aid of the Clarendon Press a superb edition of the text with an appropriate commentary of which the Library is I believe rightly proud?

"Much has happened in these 25 years. Another manuscript was discovered by Dr. Burkitt in the British Museum. Criticisms of every kind, translations, and versifications more or less valuable have been forthcoming, but these are not the original discovery, and do not require commemoration; what I am sharing with you and our friends of the BULLETIN is the sacred date of Jan. 4th, 1909.—RENDEL HARRIS."

PRINTED BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

An exhibition was opened on the 25th of October in the main reading-room of the library of characteristic examples of the books with printed illustrations produced in the principal centres where printing was carried on in Europe during the fifteenth century.

Beginning with the block-prints and block-books, which were the precursors of the type-printed books, and formed the links which connected the manuscript method of book-production with the mechanical method of the typographer, it has been possible to illustrate every stage in the development of printed book-illustrations in Europe from the establishment of the printing press in Germany throughout its progress in Italy, Holland, France and England.

A number of the most noteworthy of the examples exhibited have the added distinction of being the only copies known to be extant. To mention only a few of the most famous examples: of the earliest piece of European printing with an undisputed date, the Saint Christopher print, we are able to exhibit the only known copy; of the earliest type-printed books with illustrations the three examples exhibited are the only copies in this country; of the earliest book with illustrations printed in Italy the library possesses the only surviving copy.

In the limited space available for exhibition purposes it has not been possible to convey anything like an adequate idea of the extent of the section of the library from which the exhibits have been selected, but it will at least serve the purpose of revealing to students of art and typography something of the richness of the collections which have made the library famous in the world of art and letters.

A descriptive catalogue of the exhibition has been issued, to which has been prefixed, by way of introduction, a brief survey of the beginnings of printed-book illustration, which extends to fifty pages, and is illustrated with sixteen facsimiles. In the annotations to the catalogue entries reference has been made to interesting features and peculiarities of many of the works exhibited, which supplements the information contained in the introductory survey.

The catalogue which consists of 100 pages and sixteen facsimiles is on sale at the price of two shillings net.

BUILDING METHODS IN SUMER ABOUT 2300 B.C.

Dr. Fish has rendered a great service to students of Sumerian language and civilisation through the medium of the articles he has contributed from time to time to the pages of the BULLETIN in which he has dealt with the Sumerian tablets in the possession of the John Rylands Library.

The intention of those articles and also of the "Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets," issued in 1932, was to place at the disposal of students hand copies of the more important of the tablets, with transliterations of the remainder, and appropriate indices.

Many of our general readers have had their interest awakened by these articles, and they have expressed the desire to know what the tablets are about. In order to meet their case Dr. Fish has generously consented to prepare a series of short articles upon the material in the library which will throw light upon certain aspects of the life and customs of the Sumerians in the Third Dynasty of Ur, of about 2300 B.C.

The article which appears in the present issue deals with the tablets of the Rylands Collection with relevant references to materials of the same date published elsewhere, which are concerned with shelter or housing, and building materials.

In the next article Dr. Fish intends to deal with the woollen industry.

RYLANDS ZENON PAPYRI.

In the spring of 1917 Dr. Rendel Harris set out to join his friend, Dr. James Hope Moulton, in India, whither he had gone, in 1915, to visit the Parsi communities. Unfortunately, the boat in which Dr. Harris travelled, the "City of Birmingham," was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean. In consequence of exposure for two days in an open boat, Dr. Harris's health suffered, and he decided not to continue his journey, but to remain in Egypt, there to await the return of Dr. Moulton, so as to make the journey back to England in company with him. Together they sailed for

home from Port Said on the ill-fated " City of Paris." For the second time Dr. Harris suffered all the horrors of exposure in an open boat following the sinking of the ship, but on this occasion he experienced, in addition, the unspeakable grief of witnessing the passing over of his beloved friend, who succumbed to weakness following exposure and his laborious ministrations to the other occupants of the boat.

During Dr. Harris's stay in Egypt, he busied himself in hunting papyri, and succeeded in making some important finds, including the little collection of eighteen " Zenon Papyri," which are published for the first time in the present issue. Fortunately he did not attempt to carry his finds with him on the ill-fated ship, but left them in safe custody in Egypt until such time as they could be transported to England without risk.

Mr. C. C. Edgar, for some time General Secretary of the Antiquities Department, Cairo, who has already edited a considerable number of the letters and documents from the same source, has kindly undertaken the publication of this small group.

The Zenon Papyri are a collection of letters and other documents preserved by a certain Greek official named Zenon, who lived at Philadelphia, in the Fayoum, about the middle of the third century B.C. It was there that the papyri were filed, and it was there that Zenon resided for the greater part of the period covered by the correspondence.

The documents found in the archive of Zenon, which he had so fortunately stowed away, do not deal exclusively with local affairs in that corner of the Fayoum. They consist almost entirely of business letters, accounts, receipts, and contracts, but they give little direct information about Zenon. They furnish, however, a wonderful picture of life in Egypt in the very prime of the Alexandrian age, when Alexandria was not of great mercantile importance, but was famous as a school of art, science and learning. Every rank of society is represented among the correspondents, from the chief minister of the King down to the native swineherd writing from prison.

The papyri were discovered by a gang of peasants digging for *Sebakh* or antiquities on the site of the ancient Philadelphia,

which lies on the eastern side of the Fayoum. According to Egyptian law, antiquities found by *Sebakh* diggers are the property of the State, but the Government seldom obtains more than its agents are able to lay hands upon at the moment of discovery. These papyri not having been seized on the spot, passed into the hands of the dealers and were gradually put on the market, at steadily increasing prices as their fame grew.

Altogether upwards of two thousand documents have been printed, but a large number still remains unpublished.

A large group was bought for Italy, still larger quantities were acquired from time to time by the Cairo Museum, other portions have found a home in the British Museum, the Rylands Library, the Universities of Michigan and Columbia, whilst smaller lots have found their way to France and Germany.

ARABIC PAPYRI IN THE J.R.L.

"Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester." By D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., F.B.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford; Corresponding Member of the 'Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften.' With forty plates. Quarto, pp. xxiv, 242; forty plates of facsimiles in collotype. Price two guineas net.

The above catalogue, which has been in course of preparation since 1901, when the collection became the property of the library, has just been published, and is now on sale.

The work of deciphering and cataloguing the collection was at first placed in the hands of the late Dr. Josef Karabacek, who was at the time Director of the K.K. Hofbibliothek at Vienna, and failing to find time to handle the material, returned it to the library.

To the great satisfaction of the Governors, Professor Margoliouth very generously undertook the difficult task of compiling this catalogue, and they take this opportunity of again offering to him their most grateful thanks.

In a most illuminating preface, which we reprint elsewhere in the present issue, Professor Margoliouth has dealt not only with the provenance of the collection, but also with its importance in throwing light upon the social life of the period to which the

documents belong. They are mostly of a very fragmentary character, having been recovered from the rubbish heaps, and are of the nature of papers of a domestic and ephemeral character which to-day would find a resting-place in the waste-paper basket. They include private letters, tradesmen's and household accounts, tax receipts and affidavits, a leaf out of a book of spells, and a few literary fragments, which range in date from the eighth to the twelfth century of the Christian era.

MALORY'S "MORTE D'ARTHUR."

Wynkyn de Worde's edition of Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," of 1498, has just been reproduced for the first time by Basil Blackwell of the Shakespeare Head Press at Oxford, from the only known copy which is preserved in the John Rylands Library.

Sir Thomas Malory finished what has been described as "this splendid patchwork of romance" about 1470. It was printed for the first time in 1485 by William Caxton, who was probably also the editor, and by thus ensuring its preservation he has laid English literature under an immense obligation, for the work occupies a position in English literature infinitely higher than the French originals upon which it is based, and its vitality, four hundred and fifty years after its first publication, is as great as ever it was.

In 1498 Wynkyn de Worde, the successor of William Caxton (who had died in 1491), issued from the same printing office in Westminster a second edition of the work, based upon the edition of Caxton, but in which the orthography is greatly improved. Words are transposed, added, or omitted, and obsolete forms are exchanged for more modern ones.

The most interesting feature of this edition of 1498 is that each of the twenty-one chapters is illustrated with a half-page wood-cut. These have been reproduced in facsimile in the reprint, for the text of which a clear Roman type has been employed in place of the black letter of the original.

This edition may be said to bridge the gap between Caxton's original edition of 1485, which was reproduced by Oskar Sommer in 1891, and Wynkyn de Worde's second edition of 1529, on which most modern editions are based.

Among the recently acquired manuscripts is an interesting collection of over five hundred charters and other documents concerning Lancashire and Cheshire, particularly the Wirral District, many of which relate to the Stanleys of Hooton. THE STANLEY HOOTON CHARTERS.

They range from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, with a large percentage of early examples, to which, in many cases, the original seals are still attached.

As an indication of the importance of the collection, we describe a few items, taken almost at random :

Seal of Randle, Earl of Chester [before 1140].
Seal of Randle Blundevill, Earl of Chester, succeeded 1181.
Seal of Henry de Lacy, 3rd Earl of Lincoln, succeeded 1257.
Seal of Sir Robert de Pulford. 1264.

There are many private seals of this kind.

Deed of the time of Edward I, with three seals, including those of the Chief Justice of Chester and of the Archdeacon of Chester.
Seal of the Borough of Preston. 1333.
Small seal of Edward, the Black Prince. 1349.
Threat of excommunication *by bell, book and candle.* 1384. Seal of the official of the Archdeacon of Chester.
Fragment of a seal of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V, 1399.
Seal of the Prior of the Knights of St. John, Clerkenwell. 1444-45.
Licence for William Stanley to marry Agnes Grosvenour. 1470. Seal of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.
A Preston rental, 1494.
Seal of Thomas, King of Man. 1514.
Sixteenth century tailor's bill.

Recent accessions also include a collection of papers relating to Catholics in Lancashire, most of which are dated 1639. At that time, when the dangers of civil war were becoming greater, the Queen induced Sir Kenelm Digby to appeal to the Catholics for contributions for the King's service, namely " towards defraying of his Ma^ties^ most charge- LANCASHIRE CATHOLICS.

able journey with his army at this present gone into the northern partes of his Realm." The papers deal with the collectors and collections in Lancashire. The chief persons were Sir William Gerard, Roger Bradshaigh, Robert Molyneux and Charles Townley, and these papers were probably in Townley's possession. Letters mainly to the latter are from Bradshaigh (1); Antony Champeneys, dean (4); A. C. and others (1 and copy); G. Gage (3); William Gerard (5); W. G. and others (2 and 3 copies); Radcliffe Houghton (1); R. Molyneux (1); Richard Osbaldeston (1); John Redman (5); James Sandes (1); Bernard Townley (1); and there are also 5 Letters (? copies) from Chas. Townley. There is a receipt from Kenelm Digby and Basil Brooke for £312 9s. 2d., from Townley. The numerous accounts give the names and contributions of many Roman Catholics. There are two copies of the Queen's letter.

The collection also includes an eighteenth-century manuscript catalogue of the famous Townley library.

DEPOSITED DOCUMENTS.

A further large number of documents and charters have been recently received on deposit, including a number of very late deeds, sent in by the British Records Association.

By far the most important deposit, however, is the large collection of CLOWES PAPERS. The number of deeds and letters included in this collection must run well into four figures. The deeds mainly relate to the Manchester district, and many of the letters are to members of the Chetham family. Indeed, the collection closely concerns the Chethams; it contains, for instance, the papers relating to the funeral, etc., of Humphrey Chetham.

ACCESS TO RECORDS.

During the course of the first annual meeting of the British Records Association in November last, Dr. Powicke, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, aroused some dismay by commenting upon the position and practice of our oldest record offices, the diocesan registries and the Cathedral muniment rooms, and in doing so, has rendered a valuable service to the cause of historical

research: "In the past the valuable documents which these contain have not infrequently suffered neglect and physical damage, but Deans and Chapters do in general safeguard their muniments to-day, and Bishops' registrars for their part probably protect the older registers as best they may in the intervals of making new entries daily. Professor Powicke's complaint was less that records were not preserved than that students lacked much of the benefit of their preservation. In one diocese a student reasonably accredited may have access for a nominal fee or none at all; in another the most learned of researchers will be asked a practically prohibitive fee, and there is a known instance of a Dean himself being refused access to his Bishop's register. Scholars are perhaps apt to forget that the Cathedral muniments were compiled not for them but for the practical use of Deans and Chapters, that Bishops' registers were made for Bishops, and registrars appointed not by the public but by Bishops as individuals. But the ecclesiastical owners can scarcely disregard the reason for preserving the remoter records at all; their practical value is negligible to-day, and their historical value depends on their being read.

The Canterbury and York Society, which works under the joint presidency of the two Archbishops, will, it is hoped, in course of time put all the registers in print; but this will be the work of a century or more, and in the meantime it would be well if the requests of scholars could be met by a less arbitrary and variable system of fees. Proposals have been made for the establishment in every diocese of a diocesan record office, in which parochial records might be placed in addition to the Bishops' registers, and a measure permitting this actually passed the Church Assembly and became law in 1929. Difficulties of finance appear to have prevented this scheme from coming into action, though other dioceses might well follow the example of Worcester, which has turned a disused church that might otherwise have been pulled down into the registry of the diocese. As to *personnel*, the registrars of the present day have, as the Primate pointed out to the Canterbury and York Society, neither time nor training to act as archivists. They might, however, be content to lose the occasional windfalls which applications for the older

registers give them to-day if honorary archivists would present themselves to deal effectively with the inquiries of the student."

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a list of the public evening lectures (the thirty-second series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture-hall of the Library during the current session, 1933-34 :—

Wednesday, October 25th, 1933. "The Beginnings of Printed Book Illustration to the end of the Fifteenth Century." By the Librarian.

Wednesday, November 8th, 1933. "The Mind of Paul: Change and Development." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, December 13th, 1933. "Shakespeare's Jew." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, January 10th, 1934. "Prehistoric Migrations in Atlantic Europe, and the traces they have left." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, February 14th, 1934. "Sir John Fortescue on the Law of Nature." By Ernest F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, March 14th, 1934. "Nietzsche and Goethe." By Barker Fairley, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of German Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

Elaborations of the lectures of Professors Dodd and Charlton are printed elsewhere in the present issue.

RYLANDS BULLETIN REPRINTS.

The following articles which were published in the last issue of the BULLETIN, have been printed in a separate and more permanent form, and may be obtained from the Librarian, or from the Secretary of the Manchester University Press, at the price of eighteen pence, unless otherwise stated :—

"Value," by Professor S. Alexander, O.M., F.B.A.

"Instruments and Discipline of Learning." By the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F.R.S.

"Racial distribution in the light of Archæology." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc.

"Florida Verborum Venustas: some early examples of Euphuism in England." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil.

"The Provisions of Oxford: a forgotten document and some comments." By H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc., and G. O. Sayles, M.A., D.Litt.

"The Trial of Midas the Second." By W. Wright Roberts, B.A.

"The Miller's Tale: a study of an unrecorded fragment in relation to the first printed text." By Guthrie Vine, M.A.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue :—

ART: BINYON (Lawrence) and others, "Persian miniature painting, including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House, 1931." Folio; COULTON (G. G.), "Art and the Reformation," 8vo; FRENCH ART, "Commemorative catalogue of the Exhibition of French Art, 1200-1900, held in London, 1932," 4to; MARLE (R. Van), "The development of the Italian Schools of Painting," Vol. 14: The Renaissance painters of Umbria; VENTURI (A.), "Storia dell'arte Italiana, 9: La pittura del cinquecento, parte 7," 8vo; VOLBACH (F.), SALLES (G.), et DUTUIT (G.), "Art Byzantin: cent planches reproduisant un grand nombre de pièces choisies parmi les plus belles représentatives des diverses tendances," 4to; "WREN SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS, Vol. 10 (1933): The parochial churches of Sir Christopher Wren, 1666-1718," Folio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. "Catalogue générale des livres imprimés, vols. 116-118," 8vo; BORCHLING (C.), "Niederdeutsche Bibliographie," 9-10: 1559-1579," 4to; CHROUST (A.), "Monumenta palæographica," Riehe 3, Lief. 13-14; Folio; CIASCA (R.), "Bibliografia Sarda sotto gli auspici R. Univ. degli Studi di Cagliari," 3 vols. 8vo; COLAS (R.), "Bibliographie générale du costume et de la mode," 2 vols, 8vo; LECLERQ (L. de), "Les Verdussen: imprimeurs-libraires et bibliophiles Anversois," 8vo; LORENZ (O.), "Catalogue générale

de la librarie française, tome 32 : 1922-1925," 8vo ; LOSELEY MANUSCRIPTS, " Manuscripts and other rare documents preserved in the muniment room of James More Molyneux at Loseley House, in Surrey ; edited with notes by A. J. Kempe," London, 1836, 8vo ; MAZZATINTI (G.), and SORBELLI (A.), " Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia, vol. 53 (Bologna), 54 (Ferrara)," 8vo ; MEULEMEESTER (M. de), " Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes, 1 : Bibliographie de S. Alphonse M. de Ligouri," 4to ; MILLOT (Stanislas), " Nouvelles méthodes pour la description et l'identification des incunables," 8vo ; PHILLIPPS (Sir Thomas), " Catalogus manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps Bart., A.D. 1837, Impressus Typis Medio Montanus, Mense Maio 1837. Reproduced in photostat facsimile by S. de Ricci," Folio ; POLAIN (Louis), " Catalogue des livres imprimés au 15me siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique," 4 vols, 8vo ; RICCI (Seymour de), " Le problème des bibliothèques françaises : petit manuel de bibliothéconomie," 8vo ; TOVAR (Conde de), " Catalogue dos manuscritos Portugueses ou relativos a Portugal," 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ABERDEEN. " Valuation of the county of Aberdeen for the year 1667. Printed from the original MS. and edited by A. and H. Taylor (Third Spalding Club)," 4to ; ÆGYPTUS, " Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia, anno 13 (1933)," 8vo ; AMARI (M.), " Storia dei Muṣulmani di Sicilia," 8vo ; AMERICA, " Dictionary of American Bibliography : A—MacCracken," 11 vols., 8vo ; " Annales Institutorum quae provehendis humanioribus disciplinis artibusque colendis a variis in urbe erecta sunt nationibus," 4 vols., 8vo ; " ANNUAIRE de la Fédération Historique Lorraine, anno 1930," 8vo ; ATKINSON (H. W.), " The families of Atkinson of Roxby (Lincs.) and Thorne and Dearman of Braithwaite and families connected with them," 4to ; BALL (F. E.), " A history of the county of Dublin," 6 vols., 8vo ; BALTEAU (J.), " Dictionnaire de biographie française," 8vo ; BENSON (E. F.), " King Edward VII : an appreciation," 8vo ; BEVERLEY : Beverley Borough Records, 1575-1821, edited by J. Dennett," 8vo ; BÖHMER (J. F.), " Regesta Imperii, 6 : Die Regesten der Kaiserreiches unter Rudolf, etc., 1273-1313," 4to ; BORK (F.), " Elamische Studien," 8vo ;

Bovill (E. W.), "Caravans of the Old Sahara: an introduction to the history of the Western Soudan," 8vo; Bradney (Sir Joseph), "A history of Monmouthshire, 4 vols, Folio; Burkitt (M. C.), "The Old Stone Age," 8vo; Butts (Mary), "The Macedonian Alexander the Great, 8vo; "Byzantion: Revue internationale des études Byzantines," 8 vols., 8vo; Calvert (A. F.), "The Escorial: a historical and descriptive account of the Spanish Royal Palace Monastery and Mausoleum," 8vo; Cambridge, "Cambridge History of the British Empire, 7: Australia and New Zealand," 2 vols, 8vo; Carter (H.), "The tomb of Tut-ankh-amen . . ." 3 vols., 8vo; Churchill (I. J.), "Canterbury administration: the administrative machinery of the archbishopric of Canterbury, illustrated from original records," 2 vols., 8vo; Corpus, "Corpus inscriptionum latinarum," vol. 13, Folio; Corpus, "Corpus nummorum italicorum, 14: Umbria Lazio (Zecche minori)," Folio; Crozet (R.), "Histoire de Champagne," 8vo; D'Arcy (R. F.), "The life of John, first Baron Darcy of Knayth, (1280-1347)," 8vo; Demangel (R.), "La frise Ionique," 8vo; Dickinson (R. E.) and Howarth (O. J. R.), "The making of geography," 8vo; Drinkwater (J.), "John Hampden's England," 8vo; Ebeling (E.), "Urkunden des Archivs von Assur aus mittel assyrischer Zeit," 8vo; "Edwardian England, A.D. 1900-1910: a series of lectures edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw," 8vo; Einstein (L.), "Divided loyalties: Americans in England during the War of Independence," 8vo; Elgee (F. and H. W.), "The archæology of Yorkshire," 8vo; England, "Acts of the Privy Council, 1623-1625," 8vo; Epigraphia, "Epigraphia Zeylanica, being lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon," 3 vols., 4to; Flodden Papers, "Diplomatic correspondence between the Courts of France and Scotland, 1507-1517, edited by M. Wood," 8vo; Florence, "Florentine merchants in the age of the Medici: letters and documents from the Selfridge Collection of Medici Manuscripts, edited by G. R. B. Richards," 8vo; Gardiner (Stephen), "Letters, edited by J. A. Muller," 8vo; Garvin (J. L.), "The Life of Joseph Chamberlain," 2 vols., 8vo; George (Lloyd), "War Memories," 2 vols., 8vo; Gooch (G. P.) and Temperley (H.), "British documents of the War, 1898-1914, 9: The

Balkan Wars," 8vo ; GOTHEIN (P.), " Francesco Barbaro Früh-Humanismus und Staatskunst in Venedig," 8vo ; GUAY (H. L.), " The influence of the Commons on early legislation," 8vo ; GUEDALLA (P.), " The Queen (Victoria) and Mr. Gladstone, 1845-1879," 8vo ; HIROA (Te Rangi), " The evolution of Maori clothing," 8vo ; HUGUET (E.), " Dictionnaire de la langue française du 16e siècle," 8vo ; HUNT (R. J.), " The Livingstone of South America : life and adventures of W. B. Grubb, among the wild tribes of the Grand Chaco, in Paraguay, Argentina, the Falkland Islands and Tierra del Fuego," 8vo ; HYDE (H. M.), " The rise of Castlereagh," 8vo ; IRAN, " Iranische Denkmäler, herausgegeben von E. Hatzfeld," Folio ; IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION, " The Book of Ormond, edited by Newport White, 8vo ; IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION, " Calendar of Ormond deeds, 1172-1350, edited by E. Curtis," 8vo ; ISTITUTO DI STUDI ETRUSCHI, " Studi Etruschi," 6 vols., 8vo ; JANE (C.), " Select documents illustrating the four voyages of Columbus . . . translated and edited by C. Jane," 2 vols., 8vo ; JENNESS (D.), and BALLANTYNE (A.), " Language, mythology and songs of Bwaidoga, Goodenough Island, S.E. Papua," 8vo ; JOLLIFFE (J. E. A.), " Pre-feudal England : The Jutes," 8vo ; KEHR (P.), " Die Kanzleien Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngern," 8vo ; KIDD (B. J.), " The Counter-Reformation (1550-1600)," 8vo ; KNIGHT (G. A. F.), " Archælogical light on the early Christianizing of Scotland," 2 vols., 8vo ; LEICESTER, Records of the Borough of Leicester, 6. Register of Freemen of Leicester 1770-1930," 4to ; LENTZE (H.), " Der Kaiser und die Zunftverfassung in dem Reichsstädten bis zum Tode Karls 4," 8vo ; LENZ (George), " Demokratie und Diktatur in der Englischen Revolution, 1640-1660," 8vo ; LOTH (David), " Philippe II., 1527-1598," 8vo ; MALCOLM-SMITH (E. F.), " The life of Stratford Canning : Lord Stratford de Radcliffe," 8vo ; MATHESON (Cyril), " Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville," 8vo ; MÉLANGES de l'Université de Saint Joseph à Beyrouth," 16 vols., 8vo ; MENABREA (H.), " Histoire de Savoie," 8vo ; MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE EN PERSE, " Mémoires, tome 24 : actes juridiques Susiens," 4to ; MOLHUYSEN (C.) und KOSSMANN (K. H.), " Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboeck," 9 vols., 8vo ; MONGLOND (A.), " La

France révolutionnaire et impériale : annales de bibliographie méthodique, tome 3 : 1794-1796," 8vo ; MONTET (P.), " Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)," 8vo ; MORNET (D.), " Origines intellectuelles de la révolution française, 1715-1787," 8vo ; NESSELHAUF (H.), " Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Delisch-Attischen Symmachie," 8vo ; NEWMAN (Rabbi J.), " The agricultural life of the Jews in Babylonia between the years 200 and 500 C.E.," 8vo ; NEZELOF (P.), " La vie joyeuse et tragique de Marie Antoinette," 8vo ; NILSSON (M. P.), " Homer and Mycenae," 8vo ; NOLHAC (P. de), " Portraits du 18e siècle : la douceur de vivre," 8vo ; PAGE (F. M.), " The estates of Crowland Abbey : a study in manorial organisation," 8vo ; PEAKE (H.) and FLEURE (H. J.), " Corridors of Time : 1 : Apes and men, 2 : Hunters and artists, 3 : Peasants and potters, 4 : Priests and kings, 5 : The Steppe and the sown, 6 : The way of the sea, 7 : Merchant venturers in bronze," 7 vols., 8vo ; PERDRIZET (P.), " Le calendrier Parisien à la fin du moyen age d'après le bréviaire, etc.," 8vo ; PERKINS (Dexter), " The Monroe doctrine, 1826-1867," 8vo ; PIPE ROLL SOCIETY, " The Great Roll of the Pipe for the first year of King John (1199), edited by D. M. Stenton," 8vo ; POLL BOOKS, " A collection of poll books of the county of Norfolk," 19 vols., 8vo ; PRINGLE (A.), " The records of the Pringles or Hoppringills of the Scottish Border," 8vo ; PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, " Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Jany. 1-June 30, 1683," " Calendar . . . of the Reign of William 3, 1698," " Calendar of Close Rolls . . . Henry 5, vol. 2 : 1419-1422 " ; " Calendar of Fine Rolls . . . vol. 13 : Henry 4, 405-413," " Calendar of Treasury Books, 1696 to 1700," vols. 11-15 ; " Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 1754-1758 " ; " Lists and Indexes, 52 : List of early Chancery proceedings, vol. 9 " ; " ROYAL COMMISSION of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland : Report with inventory of the counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan," 4to ; SAINT ANDRÉ (C.), " Henriette d'Angleterre et la cour de Louis 14," 8vo ; SCHOTTENLOHER (K.), " Bibliographie der deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubenspaltung, 1517-1585," 8vo ; SEIGNOBOS (C.), " A history of the French people, translated by C. M. Phillips," 8vo ; SMITH (G. Elliot)

" The diffusion of culture," 8vo ; SMITH (H. Clifford), " Sulgrave Manor and the Washingtons : a history and guide of the Tudor home of George Washington's ancestor," 8vo ; SMITH (S. P.), " The lore of the Wharewananga or teachings of the Maori College on their history and migrations," 8vo ; STADELMANN (R.), " Das Jahre 1865 und das Problem von Bismarcks deutscher Politik," 8vo ; TREVASKIS (H. K.), " The Punjab of to-day," 2 vols., 8vo ; UGOLINI (F. A.), " I cantari d'argomento classico, con un' appendice di testi inediti," 8vo ; WALDMAN (M.), " Elizabeth, Queen of England," 8vo ; WARD (W. H.) and BLOCK (K. S.), " A history of the manor and parish of Iver," 8vo ; WEGG (J.), " Richard Pace : a Tudor diplomatist," 8vo ; WEIGALL (A.), " Alexander the Great," 8vo ; WILKINSON (H.), " The adventures of Bermuda : a history of the Island from its discovery until the dissolution of the Somers Island Company in 1684," 8vo.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE : ALLEN (Percy), " The plays of Shakespeare and Chapman in relation to French history," 8vo ; APPEL (C.), " Bertran von Born," 8vo ; APPEL (C.), " Die Lieder Bertrans von Born," 8vo ; ATHELSTON, " Athelston, a middle English romance, edited by A. McL. Trounce," 8vo ; AUSTEN (Jane), " Volume the First (of Juvenalia), edited by R. W. Chapman," 8vo ; BALZAC (Honoré de), " Lettres à l'étrangère, 1832-1846," 3 vols., 8vo ; BEAULIEUX (L.), " Grammaire de la langue Bulgare," 8vo ; BENNETT (Arnold), " Journals," 3 vols., 8vo ; BOAS (F. S.), " An introduction to Tudor drama," 8vo ; BOURL'HONNE (P.), " George Eliot : essai de biographie intellectuelle et morale 1819-1854 : influences anglaises et étrangères," 8vo ; BOWRA (C. M.), " Ancient Greek literature," 8vo ; BROWNING (Robert), " Letters, collected by Thomas J. Wise, edited with introduction by T. L. Hood," 8vo ; BRUNNER (H.), " Milton's persönliche und ideelle Welt in ihrer Beziehung zum Aristokratismus," 8vo ; BRUNNER (K.), " The seven sages of Rome (Southern version), edited from the MSS.," 8vo ; BRYANT (A.), " Samuel Pepys : the man in the making," 8vo ; BRYNILDSEN (J.), " Norsk-Engelsk Ordbok," 8vo ; CASATI (G.), " Dizionario degli scrittori d'Italia dalle origini fino ai viventi," 3 vols., 8vo ; CHLEBOWSKI (B.), " La littérature Polonaise au 19e

siècle," 8vo ; CRAIGIE (Sir W. A.), "The Northern element in English literature : Alexander Lectures at Toronto," 8vo ; DARTON (F. J. Harvey), "Children's books in England : five centuries of social life," 8vo ; DAVIS (B. E. C.), "Edmund Spenser : a critical study," 8vo ; DREW (E.), "Discovering poetry," 8vo ; DUANAIRE FINN, "The book of the lays of Fionn, part 2 : Irish text, with translation into English by G. Murphy," 8vo ; DU BOIS (C.), "François Mauriac et le problème du romancier catholique," 8vo ; ELLERHAUGE (M.), "English Restoration drama, its relation to past English and past contemporary drama," 8vo ; ELOESSER (A.), "Modern German literature, translated by C. A. Phillips," 8vo ; EVANS (J.) and SERGEANTSON (M. S.), "English mediæval lapidaries," 8vo ; EWERT (A.), "The French language," 8vo ; FREJLICH (H.), "Flaubert d'après sa correspondance," 8vo ; HARRISON (G. B.), "A last Elizabethan Journal, 1599-1603," 8vo ; HARRISON (G. B.), "Shakespeare at work, 1592-1603," 8vo ; HENRYSON (Robert), "The poems and fables of R. Henryson, schoolmaster of Dunfermline, edited from the earliest MSS. and printed texts by H. H. Wood," 8vo ; HOLSBOER (S. W.), "L'histoire de la mise en scène dans le théatre française de 1600 à 1657," 8vo ; HOUSMAN (A. E.), "The name and nature of poetry," 8vo ; JESPERSEN (O.), "Essentials of English grammar," 8vo ; JONES (B. M.), "Henry Fielding, novelist and magistrate," 8vo ; JORGENSON (Theodor), "History of Norwegian literature," 8vo ; KER (W. P.), "Epic and romance : essays on medieval literature," 8vo ; "KING HENRY the Seventh (the missing play) : a play in four acts, by Gilbert Witter," 8vo ; KNIGHT (G. W.), "The Shakespearean Tempest," 8vo ; LAWRENCE (H. D.), "The plays," 8vo ; LEGOUIS (E.) and CAZAMIAN (L.), "History of English literature from the seventh century to the present time," 8vo ; MCCORMICK (Sir W.), "The manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales : a critical description of their contents," 8vo ; MACKENZIE (A. M.), "An historical survey of Scottish literature to 1714," 8vo ; MATHEWS (M. M.), "A survey of English dictionaries," 8vo ; MAYOUX (J. J.), "Un epicurien anglais : Thomas Love Peacock," 8vo ; MAYSER (E.), "Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemärzeit," 2 vols., 8vo ; MONRO (H.), "Col-

lected poems, edited by A. Monro, with biographical sketch by F. S. Flint," 8vo ; MORAUD (M.), " Le romanticisme française en Angleterre de 1814 à 1848," 8vo ; MURALT (B. L. de), " Lettres sur les anglois et les françois, et sur les voiages (1728), edités par C. Gould," 8vo ; MURRY (Middleton), " William Blake," 8vo ; NEW YORK, Journal of the proceedings of a convention of literary and scientific gentlemen held in the Common Council Chamber of the City of New York, October 1830. Reproduced from the original edition as one of the Centennial publications of the New York University," 8vo ; ORTON (H.), " The phonology of a South Durham dialect," 8vo ; OVERMAN (A. A.), " An investigation into the character of Fanny Burney," 8vo ; PAGE (F.), " Patmore, a study in poetry," 8vo ; PAPINI (Giovanni), " Dante vivo," 8vo ; PEARL, " The Pearl, the fourteenth century English poem rendered in modern verse, with an introductory essay by S. P. Chase," 8vo ; PLIMPTON (G. A.), " The education of Shakespeare, illustrated from the schoolbooks in use in his time," 8vo ; RANKES (O.), " Engelsk-Norsk Ordbok," 8vo ; REUL (P. de), " De Wordsworth à Keats : études sur la poesié anglaise " ; RICE (H. C.), " Le cultivateur Americain : étude sur l'œuvre de Saint John de Crèvecour," 8vo ; SELLARDS (J.), " Dans le sillage du romantisme : Charles Didier : 1805-1864," 8vo ; SIBLEY (G. M.), " The lost plays and masques, 1500-1642," 8vo ; SISSON (C. J.) and others," " Thomas Lodge and other Elizabethans," 8vo ; STEVENS (C. E.), " Sidonius Apollinaris and his age," 8vo ; STOLL (E. E.), " Art and artifice in Shakespeare : a study of dramatic contrast and illusion," 8vo ; SYMONS (A.), " A study of Walter Pater," 8vo ; TINKER (E. L.), " Les écrits de langue française en Louisiane du 19e siècle : essai bibliographiques et biographiques," 8vo ; TONELLI (L.), " L'amore nellà poesia e nel pensiero del Rinascimento," 8vo ; TURBERVILLE (A. S.), " Johnson's England : being an account of the life and manners of his age," 2 vols., 8vo ; WARD (A. C.), " American literature, 1880-1930," 8vo ; WELBY (F. E.), " Arthur Symons : a critical study," 8vo ; WEYAND (H.), " Der Englische Kriegeroman," 8vo ; WYLD (H. C.), " Some aspects of the diction of English poetry," 8vo ; YEATS (W. B.), " The winding stair and other poems," 8vo ; YOUNG (K.), " The drama of the Medieval Church," 2 vols, 8vo.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: ALEXANDER (S.), "Beauty and other forms of value," 8vo; ANDREWS (C. F.), "Christ in the silence," 8vo; BAILEY (C.), "Phases in the religion of ancient Rome," 8vo; BARNES (A. S.), "The martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul," 8vo; BARNES (E. W.), "Scientific theory and religion: the world described by science and its spiritual interpretation (Gifford Lectures, Aberdeen, 1927-1929)," 8vo; BAUMGARTEL (F.), "Der Hiobdialog: Aufriss und Deutung," 8vo; CHESTER BEATTY, "The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and texts of twelve MSS. on papyrus of the Greek Bible, by F. G. Kenyon," 4to; BENTHAM (Jeremy), A collection of his works in the original editions, 47 vols., 8vo; BENTWICH (N.), "The religious foundations of internationalism: a study of internationalism through the ages," 8vo; BOOTH (C. B.), "Bramwell Booth," 8vo; BRAYSHAW (A. N.), "The personality of George Fox," 8vo; BRÉMOND (H.), "Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion," 2 vols., 8vo; CARPENTER (S. C.), "Church and People, 1789-1889: a history of the Church of England from William Wilberforce to 'Lux Mundi,'" 8vo; CARREYRE (J.), "Le Jansenisme durant la Regence," 2 vols., 8vo; CONWAY (R. S.), "Ancient Italy and modern religion (Hibbert Lectures, 1932)," 8vo; DEARMER (P.), "Songs of praise discussed: a handbook to the best known hymns and to others recently introduced," 8vo; DELEHAYE (H.), "Les origines de culte des martyrs," 2e édition, 8vo; DONOVAN (M.), "After the Tractarians from the recollections of Athelstan Riley," 8vo; DOLD (A.), and ALLGEIER (A.), "Der Palimpsestpsalter in Codex Sangallensis 912: ein altlateinische Uebersetzung des Frühen 6 Jahrhunderts aus . . . Bobbio," 8vo; EDWARDS (Maldwyn), "John Wesley and the 18th century: a study of his social and political influence," 8vo; ELLIGER (K.), "Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja," 8vo; FABER (G.), "Oxford apostles: a character study of the Oxford movement," 8vo; FLEMING (J. R.), "A history of the Church of Scotland, 1843-1929," 2 vols., 8vo; FRAZER (Sir J. G.), "The fear of death in primitive religion," 8vo; GLORIEUX (P.), "Répertoire des maitres en théologie de Paris au 13e siècle," 8vo; GLUNZ (H. H.),

"History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon: being an inquiry into the text of some English MSS. of the Vulgate Gospels," 8vo; HACKFORTH (R.), "The composition of Plato's 'Apology,'" 8vo; HERFORD (R. Travers), "Talmud and Apocrypha," 8vo; FOAKES-JACKSON (F. J.), "Eusebius Pamphili, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, and first Christian historian: a study of the man and his writings," 8vo; JUGIE (M.), "Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia catholica dissidentium," 2 vols., 8vo; KÄSEMANOV (E.), "Leib und Lieb Christi," 8vo; KENNETT (P. R.), "Ancient Hebrew social life and custom as indicated in law, narrative and metaphor," 8vo; KNIGHT (A. H. J.), "Some aspects of the life and work of Nietzsche, especially of his connection with Greek literature and thought," 8vo; KNIGHT (S. K.), "Fulfilling the ministry," 8vo; LAMB (J. W.), "Saint Wulstan, prelate and patriot: a study of his life and times," 8vo; LAURENTIUS, Bruduscanus, "Opera omnia," 2 vols., Folio; LOISY (Alf.), "Ya-t-il deux sources de la religion et de morale," 8vo; MACDONALD (A. J.), "Authority and reason in the early middle ages (Hulsean Lectures, 1921-1923)," 8vo; McFADYEN (J. F.), "The message of the parables (Bruce Lectures)," 8vo; MAIRE (G.), "William James et le pragmatisme religieux," 8vo; MARETT (R. R.), "Sacraments of simple folk (Gifford Lectures, St. Andrews, 1932-1933)," 8vo; MARTIN (Alex.), "The finality of Jesus for Faith: an apologetic essay," 8vo; MILLER (H. Crichton), "Psycho-analysis and its derivatives," 8vo; MITCHELL (Sir Wm.), "The place of mind in the world (Gifford Lectures, Aberdeen, 1924-1926)," 8vo; MYTH and RITUAL, "Essays on the myth and ritual of the Hebrews in relation to the culture pattern of the ancient East, edited by S. H. Hooke," 8vo; OESTERLEY (W. O. E.), "Second Esdras (the Ezra Apocalypse)," 8vo; PATTERSON (R. Leet) "The conception of God in the philosophy of Aquinas," 8vo; PERRY (W.), "The Oxford Movement in Scotland," 8vo; POMMIER (Jean), "La jeunesse cléricale d'Ernest Renan: Saint Sulpice," 8vo; RENAN (Ernest), "Travaux de Jeunesse, 1843-1844, publiés par J. Pommier," 8vo; ROBINSON (T. H.), "The Epistle to the Hebrews," 8vo; ROLLER (O.), "Das Formular der Paulinischen Briefe: ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom antiken Briefe,"

8vo ; SCHÜTZ (R.), " Die Offenbarung des Johannes und Kaiser Domitian," 8vo ; SÖDERBLOM (Archbishop N.), " The living God," 8vo ; SODERINI (E.), " Il pontificato di Leone xiii," 3 vols., 8vo ; SWEDENBORG (E.), " The true Christian religion : a new translation by F. Bayley," 8vo ; SYMONDS (H. E.), " The Council of Trent and Anglican formularies," 8vo ; VOLZ (P.) und RUDOLPH (W.), " Der Elohist als Erzähler : ein Irrweg der Pentateuch kritik? An der Genesis erläutert," 8vo ; VULLIAMY (C. E.), " William Penn," 8vo ; WATERHOUSE (E. S.), " The philosophical approach to religion (Fernley-Hartley Lecture, 1933)," 8vo ; WEBB (C. C. J.), " A study of religious thought in England from 1850," 8vo ; WHITEHEAD (A. N.), " Adventures of ideas," 8vo ; WISEMAN (Luke), " Charles Wesley, evangelist and poet," 8vo ; WILMS (H.), " Albert the Great, Saint and Doctor of the Church," 8vo ; WRIGLEY (F.), " The Old Testament in the light of modern scholarship," 8vo.

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION : ARNOLD (R.), " Treaty-making procedure : a comparative study of the methods obtaining in different States," 8vo ; BROWNE (G. St. J. Orde), " The African labourer," 8vo ; CARTER (H.), " The English temperance movement : a study in objectives," 8vo ; FRANK (T.), " Rome and Italy of the Republic, vol. I : an economic survey of ancient Rome," 8vo ; HARRIS (John), " A century of emancipation," 8vo ; HEARNSHAW (F. J. C.), " The social and political ideas of some representative thinkers of the Victorian age," 8vo ; IRSAY (Stephen d'), " Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours, tome I : Moyen âge et renaissance," 8vo ; KARVE (D. G.), " Federations : a study in comparative politics," 8vo ; LASKI (H. J.), " Communism, 1381-1927," 8vo ; LAUTERPACHT (H.), " The function of law in the international community," 8vo ; LONDON, " A new survey of London life and labour," 5 vols., 8vo ; PIGOU (A. C.), " The theory of unemployment," 8vo ; RICH (R. W.), " The training of teachers in England and Wales during the 19th century," 8vo ; ROBERTSON (H. M.), " Aspects of the rise of economic individualism : a criticism of Max Weber and his school," 8vo ; TILLEY (Sir J.) and GASELEE (S.), " The Foreign Office," 8vo ; WOOD (H. G.), " The truth and error of communism," 8vo.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following is a list of benefactors to the library during the six months that have elapsed since the publication of our last issue, to each of whom we renew our grateful thanks for their welcome gifts :—

(*The figures in brackets indicate the number of volumes included in the gifts.*)

C. L. Barnes, Esq. (2).
Professor H. H. Bellot (39).
The Rev. P. B. Bull, C.R. (3).
F. G. Byles, Esq. (1).
Mrs. Chesney (5).
H. Dolphin, Esq. (1).
Miss H. Farquhar (3).
The Rev. J. de Ghellinck, S.J. (1).
Monsieur G. Guichard (3).
The Rev. Dr. H. Hyvernat (1).
The Rev. E. Ingham (1).
George Jennison, Esq. (1).
Herbert L. Johnson, Esq.
Francis H. Lauder, Esq. (1).
John Baxter Lee, Esq. (3).
Malcolm Letts, Esq. (1).
John Lees, Esq. (2).
The Librarian (1).
The Rev. C. Deane Little (1).
Miss Sylvia W. Murray (19).
T. J. Wise, Esq. (1).
D. S. Robertson, Esq. (1).
A. J. Symington, Esq. (1).
A Tayler, Esq. and Miss H. Tayler (1).
Arnold Tebbutt, Esq. (1).
Dr. M. Tyson (1).
The Rev. Dr. A. C. Underwood (1).
Professor W. G. Waddell (1).

Aberdeen : The University (1).
The American League for India's Freedom (1)
Barcelona : Biblioteca de Catalunya (1).
Basel : The University (12).
The Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (1).
The British Academy (3).
The British Museum : Trustees of (8).
Brussels : Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (1).
Canada : The Public Archives (1).
The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1).
The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (1).
Chicago : The Newberry Library (2).
Chicago : The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1).
China : Foundation for the Protection of Education (1).

Copenhagen : The University (35).
E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trustees (1).
Edinburgh : The University (3).
Florence : Istituto Britannico (2).
The Foreign Office (1).
The French Embassy (1).
Glasgow : The University (6).
Hawarden : St. Deiniol's Library (1).
The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (1).
Hispanic Society of America (4).
Hull : The University College (1).
India : The High Commissioner (17).
Japan : The Consulate General (1).
Leeds : The University (1).
Leyden : The University (1).
Lisbon : Academia das Sciencias (3).
Liverpool : Free Public Museums (1).
London School of Economics (1).
Louvain : The University (12).
Lund : The University (2).
Madras : The Government Museum (1).
Montreal : McGill University (1).
Manchester : The Victoria University (1).
Michigan : The University (3).
Minnesota : The University (1).
Missouri : The University (6).
National Laboratory of Psychical Research (2).
New York : Metropolitan Museum (1).
New York : The Public Library (1).
New York : The University (3).
Ontario : Department of Public Records and Archives (1).
Oslo : The University (3).
Reading : The University (1).
Rome : The American Academy (2).
Saint Andrews : The University (2).
Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles (4).
The Standing Council of the Baronetage (1).
The Stansfield Trust (1).

Stockholm : The Royal Library (2).
Swansea : University College.
Szeged : The University (1).
Toronto : The University (2).
Utrecht : The University (19).
Washington : The Smithsonian Institution (1).
The Zion Research Foundation, Brookline, Mass (1).

SHAKESPEARE'S JEW.[1]

By H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

THERE is, I fear, a catchpenny ring about the title by which I have described the subject of my talk with you to-night. It may suggest that topics are to be handled which are at the moment of grave concern to all who wish for peace and progress in Europe. I want therefore to make it quite clear that this evening's subject was chosen without reference to any problem beyond those which belong to the study of Shakespeare. It was, in fact, chosen four years ago, to take its place in due course as the fifth in a series of talks on Shakespeare's comedies. That is why I deal with *The Merchant of Venice* to-night.

I regret therefore that circumstances have given to its theme certain extraneous interests of a topical origin. I am no politician, and I freely acknowledge an utter incompetence to handle political questions of international significance. My concern is with Shakespeare. With his work, as with that of every other artistic genius, the aim of the critic is to see it *sub specie æternitatis*, divesting himself, as far as fallible mortal may, of the biases and the prejudices which distort our ephemeral judgments. It is a mere accident that Hitlerism has intervened at this moment, and made it even harder to exercise dispassionate judgment on the place of *The Merchant of Venice* in the organic growth of Shakespeare's creative genius. But at least I may honestly assert that the interpretation of Shakespeare's Jew which I am venturing to put forward this evening is an interpretation which I have been propounding for many years in the semi-

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of December, 1933.

publicity of University classes, from a time indeed long before Hitler's name had been heard outside his own village. I do not claim any peculiar perspicuity on that account; I merely state it, lest I should be accused of desecrating the platform of our John Rylands Library by using it for what may perhaps seem like propagandist purposes. And I should be loath to appear even remotely guilty of profaning the privilege of addressing a Rylands audience. Yet, at the outset, of one thing I must make unconditional declaration. I have said that I regret the complications which give a topical interest to this lecture; that the opinions in it were formulated at least a dozen years ago; that on their restatement for the present occasion, I trust I have guarded against modifications directly due to to-day's affairs. I will add to that, too, that as a student whose post-graduate days were spent in pre-War Germany more than twenty years ago, I grew to a fondness and admiration for the German people which even the War did little to mitigate. But I should be unfair to myself, and, what is more important, I should be exposing the name of academic scholarship to improper hazards, if I did not state categorically here and now, my own personal sense that Germany's persecution of the Jews is an entirely indefensible exhibition of those animal passions which it has been the trend of civilisation to subdue, and of which the gradual elimination is our firmest hope for a future in which humanity will live in brotherhood together and will devise for themselves a practicable parliament of men and a substantial federation of the world.

These explanations made, I resume my immediate task. With the object of suggesting an æsthetic of Elizabethan romantic comedy, I have in previous winters spoken to you of four early comedies of Shakespeare, regarding them as Shakespeare's experimentations with types, and watching for his election of the sort most congenial to the sensibilities of his generation. The trend of development is not difficult to distinguish, and the main outlines of Shakespeare's comic scheme are already becoming apparent. Its chief concern is with lovers and with love-making, and the lovers whose wooing is his main interest are youths and maidens endowed with those gifts of body and

of spirit which are the tradition of a cultured aristocracy. Alongside the high comedy which is conceived in sentimental and poetic manner runs a subsidiary low comedy providing the realistic homeliness or the farcical buffoonery contributed by the indispensable rustic or the clownish serving man. In the interplay of these two components, there is still much for Shakespeare to discover; but the essential pattern is determined already. He has chosen his protagonists, a hero and a heroine, and their primary obligation is to woo or to be wooed. Wherefore, the long procession of lovers in Shakespeare's comedies, from Rosaline and Biron, and Sylvia and Valentine, of the early ones, to Rosalind and Orlando, and Beatrice and Benedick of the greatest.

But despite the moonlit gardens of Belmont, *The Merchant of Venice* will not be forced into this march of Shakespearian comedy. It has, of course, its lovers and there is elaborate ritual in its wooing. But of its wooers, Portia is more adept in the badinage than in the poetry of love, and indeed, in the action of the play, her technical triumph is not in love, but in law. And Bassanio is palpably relegated to the subordinate characters. Nor is the wooing itself in the way of Elizabethan sentiment; the symbolism of the caskets surrounds it with picturesque ceremony, but deprives it completely of that passionate reality whereby the Elizebethans recognised the lordship of love. And indeed, though perhaps not by a mere arithmetical computation of lines, yet certainly by the estimation of men's memories of its people, there can be no doubt that the wooing of Portia by Bassanio is not the main stuff of the play. It is an episode, an expensive undertaking which will therefore serve as pretext to introduce a scheme for guaranteeing overdrafts. The Bond story, not the tale of the caskets, is the backbone of *The Merchant of Venice;* and Shylock and Antonio, not Bassanio, nor even Portia, are the real protagonists of the piece.

The Merchant of Venice, then, is hard to fit into a progressive series of Shakespeare's comedies. The story of the play would not appear to offer much opportunity for comedy of the kind to which his preference was apparently running; nor does it seem in any way to illustrate the approach to life in terms of which the idea of comedy had already been formulated in the creed

of Theseus. Just where Shakespeare got his story is not exactly known. The likelihood is that *The Merchant of Venice* is his re-shaping of the play, " The Jew . . . representing the greedinesse of worldly chusers and the bloody minds of usurers," which Gosson had seen sometime before 1579. That play is unfortunately lost. But at such a date in the history of the Elizabethan stage, it can hardly have exhibited much of the romance of love-making, though Gosson does in fact name the caskets before the bond. In all probability, it was a heavily moralised interlude, and, Gosson specifically and puritanically adds, nowhere " with amorous gesture " did it wound the eye. It is possible, though in my view unlikely, that Shakespeare knew other versions of the story, the one for instance in *Il Pecorone* of Ser Giovanni, written a little before 1400, and published in Italian in 1558. Ser Giovanni himself was telling an oft-told tale, and the two earlier archtypes of it are the versions in *Dolopathos* (c. 1200) and in *Gesta Romanorum* (1342). Though in all these versions, the man's pursuit of the wealthy wife is in a sense the main story to which the tale of the bond he signs with a usurer is subsidiary, yet in all of them the manner of the pursuit and the characters both of the pursuer and of the pursued are in nowise of the kind most obviously congenial to romantic treatment. In all of them, there is no wooing: the lady, in fact, sets herself up as an unregistered private prostitute, extracts her fee from her client, drugs him, and then adjudges him unworthy of her because of his proved impotence. But the story had gone at least a stage nearer to romance when some one or other between Ser Giovanni and Shakespeare cut out this salacious testing and substituted another familiar theme of mediæval tale, the choice of caskets. I see no reason why we should not credit this amendment to the author of *The Jew*, whose concern for morality is sufficiently certified, and who would certainly find apt material for moralising in the mottoes of a row of caskets. It is not impossible to imagine that Shakespeare might somehow have seen his way to use material like this of *The Jew* for comedy such as comedy was becoming in his hands. Yet it is obvious that in fact he did not use the material in that way at all.

There can be little doubt that in determining to write a

play like *The Merchant of Venice*, and in choosing the particular matter from which to make his *Merchant of Venice*, the decision came not from Shakespeare's artistic impulse but from his conscious deliberation. Hitherto, in the growth of this genius for comedy, his deepening insight has appeared in his choice of this or that material for comic projection, in his sense for matter most apt to express the spirit of comedy. But in choosing the story of *The Merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare the artist is not asserting himself. It is Shakespeare the Elizabethan, with the political and racial prejudices of the average man, or of the mob, of his own day. About 1594, public sentiment in England was roused to an outbreak of traditional Jew-baiting; and for good and evil, Shakespeare the man was like his fellows. He planned a *Merchant of Venice* to let the Jew dog have it, and thereby to gratify his own patriotic pride of race.

It is not open to serious question that this was Shakespeare's purpose. The text itself preserves sufficient evidence of the author's fixed intent to exhibit his Shylock as an inhuman scoundrel, whose diabolical cunning is bent on gratifying a satanic lust for Christian flesh, the Jew, in fact, who was the ogre of mediæval story and the cur to be execrated by all honest men. This, indeed, is how Shylock is described by every character in the play who is cast to secure the sympathy of the audience, Portia, for instance, and Antonio, in particular. And those who knew him nearest, his daughter Jessica and his servant Launcelot, are enrolled to heap up the ignominy. This is particularly remarkable because these two are invented characters, not in the original story.[1] Another invention—the penalty finally imposed on Shylock, that he become a Christian—is a sufficient indication not only of the dramatist's intention to expose Shylock to shame, but, by the callousness of the punishment, of his unrelenting antipathy to the figure he had been minded to create. It is most

[1] They may, of course, have been in the anonymous play, *The Jew*; Jessica almost certainly was. Dr. Cardozo (*vide infra* p. 51, n. 1) speculates interestingly about the authorship of the play, taking its writer to have been a good Hebrew scholar, since the four Jewish names in the play all occur in reasonable proximity in the Old Testament, two of them occurring once only in the Bible, where their English form is not as in Shakespeare, though the Shakespearean ones are not incorrect, but only alternative, transliterations of the originals.

likely that in his racial passion, he never consciously meant his Shylock to be entitled to more sympathy or to less callous cruelty than is meted to him when Salarino and Salanio allow themselves to be merry with him over the flight of Jessica, a disgusting exhibition of sheer heartlessness (Act III, sc. i). Indeed, when one thinks of the recipe for an Elizabethan comedy, so much admixture of buffoonery in every play, and when one remembers that Gobbo is the slenderest and most pointlessly fatuous of Shakespeare's clowns, one cannot resist the thought that the instincts in an audience which buffoonery satisfies, were meant to be provided for by Shylock himself—" *The Comicall History of the Merchant of Venice*," as the half-title of the first Quarto (1600) has it.

Shakespeare, it would seem, meant to make, and never doubted that he had made, a Shylock fit only for exciting execration and opprobrium. But it is no less certain that Shylock has become a different figure. There has been a strange redistribution of sympathies; and Shylock the ogre becomes Shylock the hero. Since Irving's day, and indeed from the earlier times of Macready and even of Kean, Shylock totters from the stage, a pathetic frustrated figure, broken by callousness and insensate stupidity, to make an Elizabethan holiday.

It is not impossible, of course, to accuse the actors of distorting Shakespeare's text: or one may account for the transformation of Shylock by alleging that racial prejudices are no longer as virulent as they were nor as right as they were assumed to be. But these explanations are utterly inadequate to account for the facts. The Shylock of whom the Elizabethan pit, and Shakespeare amongst them, made such hearty mockery, and the Shylock who wrings the withers of a modern audience are both in the play. The one is Shylock as he was meant to be, the other is Shylock as he became through Shakespeare's unconscious dramatic instinct. Moscovitch, describing his own performance of Shylock, says that "he gropes his way like a blind man from scene to scene, playing all the contradictions, it being the duty of an actor to be faithful to his author."

There is nothing peculiar in a situation such as this. Shakespeare the Elizabethan, the man of his day, addicted to

the thoughts, the prejudices, and the passions of his fellows, felt like them a bitter hatred of the Jews. Shakespeare the typical Elizabethan could determine that an anti-Jew play should be written. But only Shakespeare the artist could write it. Writing it, his dramatic genius shaped it at the direction of his creative imagination. Precisely how the creative faculty operates remains a mystery, the great mystery of art—

> " But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
> Existent behind all laws, that made them and lo, they are !
> And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man,
> That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star."

The mystery is admitted. The artist apparently has a dual personality. He is his conscious self, and he is an artist. On the one hand he has like the rest of us his normal nature and his familiar mind, functioning not differently from the minds of the rest of us. On the other hand, he has the artist's gift ; he possesses a faculty of apprehending and of bodying forth the forms of things not known to his rational self. It is a faculty which works by laws of its own ; and both its processes and its findings may remain unknown to the other side of the artist's personality, his normal self.

A parallel illustration suggests itself. There is Milton the puritan determining to write a poem to the glory of God. But Milton the poet has to write it ; and *Paradise Lost* emerges almost as a pæan to Satan. Milton the man certainly never meant this to happen ; and further still, it is certain that if Milton had for a moment realised that Satan would triumph in men's minds because of his *Paradise Lost*, he would unhesitatingly have torn the manuscript to shreds.

> Amphora coepit
> Institui ; currente rota cur urceus exit ?

The problem is not merely the old and arid dispute, " Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte ? " It is not a matter of whether technical accomplishment may be attained through discipline and instruction. There are, it would seem, behind the distinction between poet and normal man, fundamental differences in modes of apprehending reality, differences in faculties for grasping at

truth. That deeper distinction is what the late C. H. Herford argued before the British Academy, when an analysis of Lucretius and Dante amongst others, led him to propound the view that there is in fact 'a poetic view of the world,' which it is the poet's prerogative to contribute to the sum total of human knowledge. It may be that there is a subtle connection between the vision which the poet owes to his creative imagination, and the faculty by which as a creator he has a sense of the forms within which he creates. It is possible, for instance, and up to a point demonstrable, that the formal conditions of drama to which a dramatic genius adapts itself are themselves influential in determining the nature of the thing dramatised, quite independently of the deliberate will of the dramatist. Even so conscious an artist as Mr. Shaw admits somewhere that whilst he always knows what sort of a play he means to write and what intellectual proposition it is meant to support, once the making of the play begins, the direction of it is taken over from his reason by some other force, and he is never certain how it will work out. His dramatic genius, not his sociological reason, determines that.

It may be easier with drama than with other arts to trace the working of some of the influences which determine the final character of the drama, and, therefore, of the thing dramatised. With *The Merchant of Venice*, the circumstance appears to be this. Moved by his intelligible prejudices as nationalist and politician, Shakespeare the man wished to write a play embodying a Shylock who had been created down the ages by the mob, the diabolical bogey of racial antipathies. How far, it must be asked, how far in the making of the play did Shakespeare the dramatist's intuitive sense of the necessities of drama, albeit unconsciously and perhaps quite unrecognisably to his contemporary audiences, modify the nature of the Jew he was dramatising? Is there in drama any obvious power to effect such unwitting transformations?

Mediæval legend told of the diabolical Jew who trapped a Christian merchant into a bond to surrender a pound of Christian flesh, on which the Jew could glut his devilish hatred. The tale was popular, because as a tale, it was good. Stories are

much more thrilling when they tell of unusual, wild, and extravagant incidents than when they confine themselves to the familiar common round. Hence the romances are our finest tales. But story-telling and play-making are different undertakings. The story-teller is not impeded by his actors and by his stage; he can, for instance, make his Green Knight's headless trunk stoop down and pick up its severed head. But the dramatist has not this liberty. A dramatist works not only with words which range the free spaces of his reader's imagination: he has actors who act, and a stage whereon they act. His actors cannot but look more or less like men and women, and, in the main, his stage presents a semblance of a world more or less like the world we know. Inevitably therefore an audience in a theatre finds itself demanding some sort of realism. It is idle to try to determine categorically the degree of its demand: but at least it requires that its stage shall not depict episodes flagrantly contradictory of its sense of what may conceivably happen in a world where the participants in the action are apparently human beings. Hence the paramount significance of characterisation in modern drama as a means of securing the effect of probability and therefore of credibility. Putting living men upon the stage to represent the persons of his story, the dramatist confines himself to figures who act as men may act; he is tied to an appearance of truth to human nature. The actions he presents must seem to be within probability, and his persons must palpably belong to the race of man.

The bond story demands a Jew who is a monster; but the dramatised version of it must exhibit a Jew who is a man, a figure who will be accepted as a possible man by the men whose company the play compels him to meet. That is Shakespeare's difficulty in *The Merchant of Venice*. His Shylock is a composite production of Shakespeare the Jew-hater, and of Shakespeare the dramatist. Sometimes in the play the figure is clearly the Shylock of mob prescription; at other times, it is the Shylock which the play itself is making. Very frequently it is a Shylock whose traits may satisfy the desires of either Shakespeare. It is particularly noteworthy that Shylock as he was meant to be is more often to be found at the outset of scenes in which he

appears, or at other moments in the action where the dramatic tension is relatively low and at which therefore the poet's dramatic intuition has not been excited to function in its own proper mode. On the other hand, Shylock as he was becoming at the instigation of the dramatic artist is more frequently apparent where the drama is reaching tensions in the interplay of human beings which in themselves excite the genius of the dramatist. The outstanding example is, of course, the trial scene. But there is much to be said before that is reached.

Dramatically, the crucial moments of the bond-story are two. At the beginning Shylock presents a revolting bond for sealing; and at the end, he comes with devilish anxiety to claim the forfeit stipulated. Possibly at the outset of his story, the dramatist is entitled to impose whatever assumptions he takes upon his audience: and an Elizabethan audience would certainly not feel itself unduly taxed in being invited to take a Jew for an inhuman monster. Shylock at the beginning, purposing his bond, may be taken as a mere fiend without disturbing the credulity of the audience. But as the story moves along to its climax, as the dramatist's imagination is increasingly excited by the matter passing through it, the figure who at first relies for his reality on prejudice will be born again; he will of necessity acquire a reality of his own to give dramatic conviction to his deeds. Shakespeare can dispense, and indeed must dispense, with prejudice to secure dramatic conviction for the Shylock at the end of the play. The figure who appears at that stage of the story has been driven to a paroxysm of hatred by the circumstances revealed in the preceding incidents of the story. The demon in the court scene is in fact created by the drama itself, and not imposed on it by the racial passions of the pit, although even here, an intermittent feature or two hark back to his origin in mob frenzy.

Critics with one voice have pointed to the power of Shakespeare in these scenes between the sealing and the forfeiture of the bond. They have recognised therein his genius in securing convincing probability for the raging Jew of the trial scene. There is agreement, too, that Shylock in his most demoniacal fury becomes more convincing because he becomes

more human. His claim to reality is not that, such as he is, he does not exceed the limits of ideal possibility, but that, being what he is, he is within the bounds of human probability. Truth of abstract science is one thing, truth to human nature another. One is reached by reason and systematic research ; the other is grasped by the artist's instinct for life. A monster is not beyond the scope of speculative possibility ; but a monster is outside the community of the human race.

Shylock at the end of the play is humanised, because Shylock at that point is in fact the creation of the drama and the dramatist. He has already lived through three acts of the world of which he is a part, where he speaks and feels and walks in semblance of a man, and where he encounters other beings moving and acting even by express intention as men do move and act. To make the world in which Shylock lives, the dramatist has intuitively exerted his genius and his apprehension of the world of man. In the process, the character of Shylock has taken on new traits to naturalise it amongst human beings. He has acquired them by his immersion in the play. But even as the play begins, its own laws may not improbably operate to colour the initial and pre-dramatic assumptions of the story.

Of course, an audience which assembles in the fervid consciousness of its racial prejudices may thereby be willing to adopt the wildest of congenial assumptions as the starting-point of its play. It is as yet politically and not æsthetically conscious. But as the play winds itself into its audience's imaginations, the æsthetic conscience will awaken and demand satisfaction. Shakespeare and his fellows were willing to adopt the ogre of popular story, and at the outset to accept without question a devilish Jew intent on tricking a benevolent Christian into a diabolical bond. Their prejudice appears to have blinded them into a ready acceptance of the play's account of the origin of the bond as a plain instance of the Jew's consummate and implacable devilry.

Even here, however, there are signs of the dramatic refashioning of given material to mould it to dramatic purposes. And though it remains possible to read the scene in which the bond is proposed and sealed without importing into it a Shylock

much different from the devil the mob took him to be, a closer reading begins to shake the easy assumptions which were all of which it was necessary to remind the Elizabethans to secure their ready acceptance.

The bond story requires the participation of two main people, debtor and creditor, Antonio and Shylock. Moreover, in all three stages of the preliminary action, the propounding of the bond, its acceptance and its sealing, there must be a semblance of reasonable and probable action. For if an audience is prepared to take a diabolical propounder without much question, its sympathies will be all the more alert to acquit the acceptor of such crass folly as would be implied in the acceptance of palpably outrageous terms.

So the dramatist shapes the origination of the bond as an episode springing naturally out of the normal circumstances of the society whose ways of life he is depicting. Shylock is first encountered in conversation with Bassanio. It is a matter-of-fact business interview, neither of the parties wasting words. With the curt but not impolite manner of the professional banker, Shylock simply reiterates the sum requested—"Three thousand ducats." But he is a business man. There is no reason for him to fall on Bassanio's neck and express his eagerness to do a deal. He must go cautiously, and see how urgent Bassanio is, and how much therefore he can increase his own gains in the deal by stipulating a more or even a much more profitable rate of interest. So "Three thousand ducats"—and, playing for time by letting the client show his hand—"well?" Bassanio's urgency is immediately apparent in his curt eagerness—"Ay, sir, for three months"; which, in its turn is suitably parried by the same non-committal stroke—"For three months; well?" Wherefore Bassanio raps out the primary inducement—"For the which, as I told you, Antonio shall be bound." It is all going as Shylock's business acumen would have it go. It is still worth his while to keep his client in the suspense which may increase the profits. So, as yet, no outright acceptance—"Antonio shall become bound: well?" But by now Bassanio, with all his thoughts on the next boat for Belmont, is played out as a bargainer. He loses patience

and politeness in his brusque anxiety to get the money and put an end to an unpleasant interview. "May you stead me? Will you pleasure me? Shall I know your answer?" That is exactly the mood into which Shylock desires to reduce his clients: they are then more likely to accept any terms he may propose. But it is not his habit to show his hand: and so the technique is still exploited—"Three thousand ducats for three months and Antonio bound." Out of all patience, and as if hearing the siren of the packet-boat, comes Bassanio's contemptuous exasperation—"Your answer to that!" But again, it is exactly as Shylock the business man would have it: his customer is working himself into the mood which will pay any price demanded. And so, astutely, he maintains the non-committal but partly consenting attitude: "Antonio is a good man." At once the attitude of Gentile to Jew flares out in the angry stupidity of Bassanio's misapprehension; arrogance and contempt blind him to the plain sense of Shylock's comment, and his "Have you heard any imputation to the contrary?" is so naively inept, that Shylock can only put it aside with a muttered expression of perplexed surprise—"Oh no, no, no, no"; and by a simple restatement of what he had already clearly said—"My meaning in saying that he is a good man is to have you understand me that he is sufficient"; sufficient, that is, for a bond, ample security, in fact. But this explicit affirmation of Antonio's goodness as security into which circumstances have forced Shylock is hardly the best business strategy. It seriously handicaps further bargaining for substantial interest. So Shylock follows up his explanation by accumulating every conceivable mitigation of Antonio's soundness as a security. His wealth is at the hazard of the seas—"His means are in supposition: he hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies; I understand, moreover, upon the Rialto, he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England, and other ventures he hath, squandered abroad." And, warming to the argument, he clumsily elaborates the speculative risks of traffic, making a portentous hazard of mere commonplace—"Ships are but boards, sailors but men": and multiplying the other incidental chances by his crude catalogue of synonyms for thieves: "there

be land-rats and water-rats, water-thieves and land-thieves, I mean pirates," he rises to a peroration which summarily includes the assembled perils of navigation—" there is peril of waters, winds, and rocks." But Shylock knows that on this count he is not playing a strong suit. And so—" The man, notwithstanding, is sufficient: I think I may take his bond "—which still leaves him a chance for further bargaining. But Bassanio's thick-skinned arrogance and his natural impetuosity make him still perceive nothing but an implied imputation against a Christian friend and boon-companion: " be assured you may." There is nothing left for Shylock but to defer a final agreement, and to get into touch with Antonio himself. But that in itself signifies so much of willingness, that Bassanio sees himself likely to be provided: it is therefore an occasion to celebrate in the way of his kind, a convivial commemoration. And so, to Shylock's question—" May I speak with Antonio?" Bassanio's bonhomie suggests the appropriate occasion—" If it will please you to dine with us." Thinking to get what he wants he means the invitation in a kindly way. But its heedlessness is its sting. It touches Shylock's religious and racial sensitiveness to the quick. It symbolises the course of his life. His fate is to dwell in an alien world, encountering at every turn the deliberate hostility of the men amongst whom he lives; and even at the rare moments when for their own advantage they mean kindly, their off-handed tolerance bites more deeply than their avowed animosity. " Yes, to smell pork; to eat of the habitation which your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into." His memory is stirred to a vivid review of the continuous torments incidental to his daily life in Venice: " I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following." But there are a few moments in each day when he can withdraw into the secluded domain of his own spiritual life, and in the sanctuary of his own house, protect himself from profanation by the Gentiles: " but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you." The collocation of phrase, eating, drinking, and praying, sufficiently indicates the intensity of Shylock's spiritual sensitiveness. But a moment later, he relapses into the self-possession and the conventional

demeanour of the part he has schooled himself to play in a hostile world—"What news on the Rialto?"—buying and selling amongst a people alien in race, in custom, and religion, and making his own life amongst them only tolerable by practising a disciplined imperturbability for the public hours of the day, in the strength that he secures for himself in the privacy of his own home where he may realise the instinctive demands of his own spiritual life.

Then enter Antonio: and the stage is set for the first time for its protagonists. At an initial juncture of this kind, Shylock is called upon by the prescription to exhibit himself as the unrelieved villain he was taken by the audience to be. His soliloquy aside as a sort of diploma piece, his qualification for the rôle he had been brought in to play. And Shakespeare does it well. Shylock utters an incoherent jumble of furious revilings, urging confusedly religious, racial, and commercial rivalry as his promptings to revenge, just, indeed, as popular prejudice willed him to do.

But in the very first line of his speech, set down in both quartos and in the folio, and perpetuated in all modern editions, is an excellent example of the uncritical prejudice with which the audience were ready, without question, to take anything apparently opprobrious as proper to Shylock, more opprobrious even than Shakespeare in his own prejudice had offered them. For it is hardly credible that Shakespeare made Shylock say of Antonio—"How like a fawning publican he looks!" Shylock would hardly use the term 'publican,' and in its developed Christian sense, "an extortioner," it has no apparent application to Antonio, even from Shylock's point of view. Moreover, so far as Shylock's acquaintance with Antonio has gone, it has never shown him a "fawning" Antonio. On the contrary, it is Antonio's arrogance and high-mindedness and self-righteousness which have marked their encounters. It is perhaps not a little ironic that once, and once only, in the play, Antonio does 'fawn,'—when, after habitually calling Shylock a dog, but at length finding himself in Shylock's power, he addresses him as 'Good Shylock' (III. iii. 3); yet perhaps 'fawning' itself is too dignified a word with which to describe this turn

in Antonio's manners. A generation ago Moulton saw that 'fawning publican' would in every way be a proper description for Antonio to apply to Shylock. To Antonio, Shylock was a publican, an extortioner, who consorted with fellow sinners, and was obliged by nature or circumstance to adopt gestures which might well be described as "fawning." But even, if by a displacement of the opening line, the texts outdo Shakespeare in antipathy to Shylock, it hardly affects the obvious tenour of Shylock's opening speech. With the deliberately characterising soliloquy over, Shylock responds to Bassanio's invitation—"Shylock, do you hear?"—and applies himself with a lie to the business in hand. But once he is again brought into a dramatic situation, once he is again involved in the interplay of a group of men, the specifically dramatic sense of the playwright is stimulated, and once more two Shylocks cross each other's shadows.

> "I am debating of my present store,
> And, by the near guess of my memory,
> I cannot instantly raise up the gross
> Of full three thousand ducats. What of that?
> Tubal, a wealthy Hebrew of my tribe,
> Will furnish me."

Shylock is obviously temporising. But what is at the back of his mind? A scheme to inveigle Antonio, according to the legend. But his actual question, "How many months do you desire?" is exactly what he would be turning over if he were calculating possible profits, and preparing to stipulate such and such a rate of interest. Antonio's entry, however, gives a fresh direction to his thoughts. In substance, and in form, Antonio's first remarks to the Jew are a pattern of unconscious effrontery and of half-conscious offensiveness. Self-righteously, he protests against usury in the act of asking a loan from a usurer: and his excuse for his breach of principle, 'to supply the ripe wants of a friend,' enhances the unpleasant savour of his self-righteousness. It is as if, dashing during closed hours into the bar of a public house, one preached to the landlord a complacent sermon on teetotalism, prior to demanding brandy from him for a fainting friend. The contemptuousness in Antonio's attitude is emphasised by his turning from Shylock to Bassanio for a piece

of information, as if to save himself further contamination from the Jew's mouth—

> " Is he yet possess'd
> How much ye would ? "

But a new and exciting notion is fermenting in Shylock's mind : to catch Antonio on the hip, of course, according to the story—but one must await its utterance to distinguish its real character. It is, at all events, a notion which makes it urgent for Shylock to maintain direct contact with Antonio. So, neglecting the slight, he himself replies to the question which has not been addressed to him : " Ay, ay, three thousand ducats." Antonio peremptorily names the other relevant term—" for three months." The only point left for agreement is the rate of interest. But, his mind running along that line, Shylock is struck by a new notion. He speaks absent-mindedly—" I had forgot, three months, you told me so : well, then, your bond."

The new notion is beginning to take definite shape ; and, of course, in the old tale, it is in some such way that he devises his diabolical plot. But that hardly squares with the plain sense of the immediate text. Shylock's thoughts are running on the question of rate of interest. The morality of usury is, as his own bitter experience daily teaches him, a fundamental consideration which sharply divides Jew from Gentile. Christian doctrine and law traditionally forbade the lending of money at interest. But here now is Antonio, a representative Christian, proposing to borrow money at interest. The occasion suggests itself at once to Shylock as a proper one for trying to get Antonio to see the moral problem of money-lending from the Jew's point of view :

> " Methought you said you neither lend nor borrow
> Upon advantage."

It is Shylock's bid for mutual understanding ; but Antonio's brusque " I do never use it," hardly promises a willingness to try to understand. Yet Shylock persists in the attempt. He wants some common ground from which to start, something with common authority for Jew and for Gentile. Hence the Old Testament example of Jacob's " thrift."

It is strange that commentators have almost invariably missed the point of Shylock's illustration. Antonio, of course, misses it; and perhaps Shylock is not at his happiest in rabbinical exposition. But his argument is particularly cogent. He is, in fact, exposing the fallaciousness of the formal principles underlying the Christian condemnation of usury.

The law of England did indeed permit usury in Shakespeare's day, limiting the maximum legal rate to ten per cent. But despite Calvin's pronouncement on the morality of interest, even in Protestant countries the traditional view remained what it had been through the Middle Ages. Dante labelled usury a sin; and canon law categorically condemned it. The ethical case against it rested queerly on a passage in Aristotle's *Politics* (I. x. 4; xi. 1) in which Aristotle discusses the "useful parts of money-making." "The art of money-making out of fruits and animals," by knowledge of livestock, by husbandry, tillage, and planting, is of course, approved. But Aristotle's approval is oddly phrased: "the art of money-making out of fruits and animals is always natural." He examines other modes of money-making, barter, service, and so on; amongst them, "the most hated sort and with the greatest reason, is usury." The reason given is that "usury makes money out of money, as if money could be born of money"; usury is therefore "most unnatural." [1]

The argument was generally familiar to the sixteenth century. And not everybody who knew the form of it, "a breed for barren metal," was as stupidly blind to its implications as was Antonio. Frances Meres, who knew his Shakespeare well in 1598, expresses the whole theory in brief: "usurie and encrease by gold and silver is unlawful, because against nature: nature hath made them sterill and barren, usurie makes them procreative." And Thomas Overbury, characterising a Devilish

[1] I owe these quotations to an extraordinarily interesting thesis by a Dutchman, Dr. J. L. Cardozo, *The Contemporary Jew in Elizabethan Drama* (Amsterdam, 1925), written at the instigation of my friend, Professor A. E. H. Swaen. Dr. Cardozo's book first drew my attention to the connection between Shylock's argument and the Aristotelian proposition. I differ, however, from Dr. Cardozo very widely in estimating the dramatic implications of the material.

Usurer, says; "He puts his money to the unnatural act of generation."

But how does Jacob's exploit bear on the argument? It is meant to undermine the factitious differentiation between "natural" and "unnatural" kinds of money-making, by quoting an established case in which, though the 'productivity' is by natural procreation, yet the quality of the production and the producer's profits are controlled by the exercise of human skill and ingenuity. Jacob's device was in accord with the law of nature and the law of God—

> "This was a way to thrive, and he was blest,
> And thrift is blessing, if men steal it not."

Shylock's exegesis, however, is too subtle for Antonio, who brushes it aside with unintelligent contempt: "this was a venture, sir, that Jacob served for." He disregards the clear sense of the biblical story, denying that Jacob's scheme had succeeded:

> "A thing not in his power to bring to pass,
> But swayed and fashioned by the hand of heaven."

And so, of course, he has not even a glimmering notion of the relevance of Shylock's argument:

> "Was this inserted to make interest good?"

He has not even perceived that the theory is built on a discrimination of livestock from barren metal:

> "Or is your gold and silver, ewes and rams?"

Shylock's whole point is that, for the argument in question, gold and silver are exactly in the same kind as ewes and rams. But he must have seen that it was useless to press an abstruse point with Antonio; he ends the argument with a last despairing remark which does at least express the one practical common property of animal and mineral possessions: "I make it breed as fast."

His bid for understanding has failed, how abjectly appears from the characteristically pharisaic complacence of Antonio's comment:

> "Mark you this, Bassanio
> The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose"—

and more to the same effect.

There is apparently nothing for Shylock to do further than to complete the transaction as a mere business undertaking: "then, let me see, the rate." But he is moved to another kind of appeal by Antonio's irritable anxiety to have done with the irksome affair as quickly as possible—"Well, Shylock, shall we be beholding to you," in which the formal phrasing, 'beholding,' cannot but make Shylock consider what obligation indeed he can be thought to owe to his clients. He has failed in his appeal to Antonio's intellect; now that other sanctions are suggested, will it be possible to reach him on the broader grounds of mere humanity? Hence Shylock's moving recital of the sufferings of his tribe, and of the ignominies daily heaped upon them. Yet now the oppressors come uninvited and ask a favour of the oppressed:

> "*You* come to me, and *you* say
> Shylock, we would have moneys: *you* say so."

What in such circumstances can they expect for an answer? Shylock is evidently leading to an offer of friendly accommodation. But it seems destined to fail, for the recital awakens no spark of tolerance in Antonio:

> "I am as like to call thee so again,
> To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too."

The offer is indeed rejected before it has been formally made. And Antonio himself, Antonio, not the Jew, suggests that the transaction be conducted by a bond incorporating as harsh a penalty for default as may be devised:

> "If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
> As to thy friends; for when did friendship take
> A breed for barren metal of his friend?
> But lend it rather to thine enemy,
> Who, if he break thou mayst with better face
> Exact the penalty."

It is Shylock's great opportunity, whether he be the mob's Shylock, or the artist's. Even the mob's Shylock has so far shown little initiative in arranging circumstances to secure the bond for which he is supposed to be lusting; Antonio, in fact, is determining circumstances which are thrusting a bond on Shylock. But Shylock's great moment has come. So far he has never hinted that he has thought of foregoing interest; he has indeed from the beginning exercised himself as to the rate he

might impose. But now, Antonio's phrasing of the Christian condemnation of interest, "a breed for barren metal," provides Shylock with an opening for a supreme gesture:

> "I would be friends with you and have your love,
> Forget the shames that you have stained me with,
> Supply your present want and take no doit
> Of usance for my moneys."

The Jew will take a leaf from the Christian's book, and in friendship's name, will break a custom. He will out-Christian Antonio, for he will forego his legitimate and reasonable profit in favour of one who has nothing but scorn and contempt for him. "This were kindness," Bassanio cannot help but say. And Shylock, jumping at this first expression of sympathy ever spoken to him, will settle the thing at once. Let them immediately devise a bond, and, remembering the general terms suggested previously by Antonio, but glossing them as if they could now be taken with friendly humour, let the bond include a forfeiture penalty, never likely, of course, to fall due, which will be a sort of extravagant parody of the contractual forfeits customary in bonds. The naming of the pound of flesh is "a merry sport": it is so put by Shylock; it is so accepted by Antonio:

> "I'll seal to such a bond
> And say there is much kindness in the Jew."

It is, may be, a poor sort of joke; but Shylock has had little practice in developing his sense of humour. At once Bassanio, whose friendly word has called forth Shylock's offer relapses into the usual distrust and enmity. And Shylock, the mood of magnanimity shrivelled within him, sinks despairingly from the high level on which he has been contemplating the transaction; as if desperately realising that no noble sentiment can touch a Christian heart, he translates his offer into a purely material form, feeling by the need to do so, that its chief intention is doomed to fail:

> "If he should break his day, what should I gain
> By the exaction of the forfeiture?
> A pound of man's flesh taken from a man
> Is not so estimable, profitable neither,
> As flesh of muttons, beefs, or goats."

Therefore, if Antonio will take the bond, "so: if not, adieu."

As the scene closes, Bassanio's remark, " I like not fair terms and a villain's mind," brings us sharply back to the original outline of the Shylock of mediæval story. But the scene has run its course under our eyes without need for these assumptions ; the situations of the drama have made the characters appropriate to the essential incidents.

To the mob and to Shakespeare when he was part of it, the scheming for the bond and the terms of it were the outcome of malignant hatred in the alleged Shylock. In the play, the bond has evolved itself naturally out of the situation, and its contrivance has at no point involved the necessary intrusion of a demon's malice. The original plot, of course, required that Shylock should disguise his hatred so consummately that the Christian should be gulled. His actions were to be taken by the eye at their presumed value, and the audience would supply the unseen motive from its prejudice. But the dramatist has unwittingly depicted a sequence of events which make for the destruction of the prejudice. The mood of the unskilful merry jester is liker life than is its presupposed motive. Existing prejudices absolved the dramatist from creating sympathy for the Christians, and the prejudicial sympathies already in existence fatted themselves on tales of punishment inflicted on the Jew. But in the absence of prejudice, these very tales heap up sympathy for the Jew and antipathy for the Christians. The mind reverts to incidents intended to exhibit Shylock's devilishness, and questions anew their real import. It finds a Shylock who largely belies his author's description of him. An Elizabethan Jew-baiter could still find enough in him to corroborate his prejudice. He would take, as he was intended to take, the merry sport as a grim pretence ; and he would have no difficulty in so doing.

But on closer scrutiny, Shylock's proceedings show little sign of cunning. He defends usury ; but his bond dispenses with usury. He recounts his sufferings, and the story of them is hard to fit into any scheme of diabolical strategy. If the retort it brings from Antonio be taken as a lash which roused fury in Shylock, then even less intelligible is Antonio's acceptance of the Jew's offer. The terms of the bonds were, of course,

determined centuries ago in mediæval legend; yet in the play they have the air of arising from the situation without pre-arrangement, and their general tenour is not Shylock's, but Antonio's proposal.

Though, let it be said again, the dramatist's formulation of the actions which lead up to the bond still preserves in isolated detail this or that feature which is sufficient to keep the pit in its unquestioning assurance that it was getting the odious Shylock it desired, yet in retrospect one realises that the dramatist's re-creation of the sequence of incident has, in one vital respect, destroyed or at least completely transformed a main assumption of the original story.

Shylock's discourse with Bassanio shows him fully informed of the extent of Antonio's resources. He knows, therefore, that it is the highest degree unlikely that a situation can arise in which Antonio's forfeit will fall due. Of course, as we saw, in his bargaining with Bassanio, Shylock tried to exaggerate the risks to which Antonio's fortunes were subject; but that was plainly his proper move. He knows, and Antonio himself knew, that save by the intervention of a malicious fate to raise storms simultaneously on all the seven seas of the world just at the very place where Antonio's ships happened to be, and at a time, too, when they happened simultaneously to be in proximity to rocks or to pirates, save by some such series of miracles as this, indeed, he knows that Antonio will be able to pay on the appointed day. Even with the signed bond and its forfeiture clause in his possession, Shylock's chances of demanding the forfeit are in fact almost equal to the chances of a first prize through the holding of one ticket in the Irish Sweepstake. A Shylock diabolically bent on ensnaring an enemy for whose blood he lusted might surely have shown sufficient ingenuity to scheme for shorter odds: or if he were satisfied with chances so remote as to be almost non-existent, then the poor plotter is his own weak victim, a pitiful, maundering madman, but certainly no mighty demon of guile and craft.[1] The only madness visible

[1] Note also that the sum, three thousand ducats, is in itself no really considerable item for a 'royal merchant' to be wrecked on. Shylock, without a moment's hesitation, knows that Tubal will have it by him. Portia is aghast at its smallness. But as these are points, unlike the ones adduced above, which

in this Shylock of the early scene is the madness of supposing that Antonio may be persuaded to extend to him a common human sympathy and understanding.

But if the making of the bond does not in the dramatist's version necessarily presuppose the mob's Shylock, and if, on the contrary, it provides the outlines of another Shylock who is to be made by the play, how far will the mob's Shylock impose himself on the action after the bond has been signed? There is, indeed, a long interval before Shylock appears again, and then (II. v.), it is merely for a few moments in a scene between Shylock, Jessica, and Launcelot. This is a scene primarily needed to carry on the plot by disclosing the preparations for Jessica's elopement, and therefore the dramatic tension in it is slight: there is easier access for the Shylock of popular belief:

> "But yet I'll go in hate, to feed upon
> The prodigal Christian"

he says, although the earlier and impassioned Shylock had avowed his determination neither to eat nor drink nor pray with Christians. Yet even here, as will be seen when his dealings with Launcelot are considered, the dramatist's Shylock is not altogether missing.

But a scene or two later (III. i) brings in a Shylock completely caught up in the turmoil of significant action. Jessica has eloped, and the effect of her elopement on Shylock has already been gleefully depicted by Salarino and Salanio:

> "I never heard a passion so confused,
> So strange, outrageous, and so variable,
> As the dog Jew did utter in the streets."

Shylock has been visited by all the torments of mob hilarity:

> "all the boys in Venice follow him
> Crying, his stones, his daughter, and his ducats."

But even in this description Salanio's unintelligent version of Shylock's outcries needs the qualification of closer examination:

> "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!
> Fled with a Christian! O my Christian ducats!
> Justice! the law! my ducats, and my daughter!"

emerge sporadically in later parts of the play, their significance has not been relied on as evidence for the interpretation of the scene in which the bond is proposed and accepted. Yet they do confirm that interpretation.

What indeed is running through Shylock's distracted mind, and particularly the values in it of the alternating cry of daughter and of ducats, will be more truly measured when they come to us not in the callous version of Salanio, but from the mouth of Shylock himself: and as yet, since his daughter's elopement, he has not been seen on the stage.

When he appears Salarino and Salanio are already there, lamenting the rumour that certain losses have befallen the "good Antonio, the honest Antonio." As Shylock enters, they immediately try to see how much he knows—"What news among the merchants?"—that is, of course, the news they have been lamenting, the news which, for the Shylock of the original legend, would naturally have been the only thing which mattered. But the Shylock of the play is different; he has a daughter, as his original had not, and she has eloped. His mind, under the shock of the elopement, has no recollection of the bond at all. It is full of his daughter's flight; and so, instead of answering the pertinent question concerning his assumed hold over Antonio, in his agony he has nothing to say about forfeits and bonds. All that matters is his daughter:

> "You knew, none so well, none so well as you, of my daughter's flight."

Seeing his agonised distress, Salanio and Salarino are elated, and his misery is merely an opportunity to them for the cruellest jokes and for the salacious witticisms of the smoke-room. Shylock has been pierced to the heart: his most sacred tie has been ruthlessly severed—"My own flesh and blood to rebel," to which in reply the heartless jest—"Out upon it, old carrion, rebels it at these years?" But brutal as they are to Shylock, their bonhomie and esprit-de-corps make Salanio and Salarino concerned about Antonio: "but tell us, do you hear whether Antonio have had any loss at sea or no?" Shylock's reply is of the utmost significance. It is necessary even once again to recall the presuppositions of the story: Shylock is plotting diabolically to trap Antonio by a bond. His scheming may or may not succeed, and, as the play had modified the chances, Shylock's hopes for getting Antonio into his claws were extremely remote. But fate is working marvellously for him.

It is a moment when Shylock should be hilariously elated that despite the enormous odds against, his speculation is to be a winner: possibly, and against all reasonable expectation, Antonio is to prove a defaulter. And yet, at the very moment, with this miraculous turn of fortune in his favour, what does Shylock say? Not, as the legend required him to say—"my wildest hopes are coming true, my outsider's chance is to win, a very good bargain indeed"—but, on the contrary, what he says is "There I have another bad match, a bankrupt, a prodigal, etc." The badness of the bargain is all Shylock is aware of; and the bargain is only bad if Shylock had meant it merely in the way of ordinary business. If for a second he had thought of it as a means to gratify his hatred—the only way in which in the legend he ever did think of it—he could never have described it as a 'bad bargain,' but clearly as an unbelievably fortunate one.

Of course, as an inevitable dramatic development of the situation, once his hold over Antonio is brought to his mind, he naturally turns to the fact of the bond in the distraught mood of the moment—"Let him look to his bond." It is the first time he has ever considered the possibility of forfeiture; and for the first time, it will now be made, not a nominal pretence, but a substantial gratification. "Why," says Salarino, "I am sure, if he forfeit, thou wilt not take his flesh: what's that good for?" In reply, Shylock is moved to a revelation of his profound humanity, his sense of the community of Jew and Gentile, though now that sense expresses itself distortedly as a partly demented sufferer's opportunity to wreak bitter revenge on those who have narrowed the bonds of human sympathy by excluding from it the race to which he belongs. What is the pound of flesh good for? he is asked. In a wave of compelling passion, he replies:

"To bait fish withal: if it will feed nothing else, it will feed my revenge. He hath disgraced me, and hindered me half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies: and what's his reason? I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same

weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge. If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction."

At length, the idea that with the bond, he has a means of righteous vengeance against Antonio and the Christians at large has entered Shylock's mind. But even yet it is not implanted there. Tubal enters, and eagerly Shylock questions him—"What news from Genoa?" Not however, news about Antonio, but about the infinitely more pressing preoccupation—"Hast thou found my daughter?" When he hears of Tubal's failure to track her, his desolation returns; an impossible frame of mind, be it remembered, for a Shylock who, bent on Antonio's flesh, now has his first promise that he may get it—"The curse never fell upon our nation till now: I never felt it till now." This is not the mood of a man whose far-flung contrivances are proving successful. It is the desolate mind of a man whose nearest and dearest possessions are torn from him, daughter, diamonds, ducats, and his loss harries his mind to a frenzied and confused iteration of what he has lost—"two thousand ducats," and "other precious, precious jewels," as well as his daughter. To a modern ear, doubtless, this joining of daughter and ducats argues something of heartlessness in Shylock: and no doubt it was meant to do so. But ducats are more to Shylock than mere material possessions. They are the only means by which, in an alien world, he preserves a refuge for the true life of his own spirit:

> "You take my house when you do take the prop
> That doth sustain my house; you take my life
> When you do take the means whereby I live."

They are the guarantees of his house, as Jessica was its only pledge: and the two hang together as the sole joy in which his

Hebrew soul may delight itself in a hostile community. Moreover, even in this speech, in which ducats and daughter are intermittently spoken, Shylock is patently above and beyond the merely material valuation of material assets. He has lost all that satisfied his deepest religious instincts, his sense of Judaism. His Jewish daughter has deserted the faith: to avoid that, he would have buried her and all his wealth in her grave: "I would my daughter were dead at my foot, and the jewels in her ear! I would she were hearsed at my foot, and the ducats in her coffin." And this is palpably no miser's placing of the things of this world above those of the spirit. Here is Shylock's great sorrow, and in the throes of it, merely accidental affairs like Antonio's fortunes have no place in his mind. So much so that Tubal has to bring Antonio's misfortunes to Shylock's notice—obviously a Shylock different from the prescribed one. "Yes," says Tubal, "other men have ill luck too; Antonio . . . hath an argosy cast away." It is only by the gradual and interrupted account from Tubal of Antonio's losses that Shylock is brought to full consciousness of his opportunity for condign vengeance. Daughter and ducats are alternative and successive stabs in Tubal's tale. In the course of it Shylock is moved to his deepest being by the story of Jessica's bartering of a ring—"Out upon her! Thou torturest me, Tubal: it was my turquoise; I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor: I would not have given it for a wilderness of monkeys." Immediately following on this desecration of his most sacred memories, pat comes Tubal's "But Antonio is certainly undone," and Shylock is irrevocably committed to his vengeance. Yet even in the moment of the avowal, it is a vow bound by the holiest sanctions: "Go, go, Tubal, and meet me at our synagogue."

Clearly the Shylock who has been brought to his determination in this way is a Shylock who has been wrought by circumstance to an impassioned mood of frenzy. He has been transformed into the intelligible fanatic who with perfect naturalness may play the pathetically demented rôle he must fulfil in the trial scene. He provides an admirable example of the way in which the dramatist's instinct secures dramatic reality.

The play exhibits many other strokes of this intuitive sense in operation. Even from the beginning, Shakespeare's picture of Venice and of the Venetians is the representation of a world in which a Shylock would suffer the extreme torments of racial antipathy. The Venice of Bassanio, Lorenzo, Salanio, and the rest is an opulent world, inhabited by high-spirited men of affairs, who live richly, and with the reckless gaiety which is the privilege of those whom blood or experience has endowed with a competent *savoir-faire* as with a second nature. The youths of Venice are the stock from which later generations have recruited their proconsuls and their colonial administrators. They are the aristocracy of regal merchandise; they inherit the confident, efficient culture of the dominating middle class. They are destined to rule the world by virtue of their limitations as much as of their qualities. Their prejudices serve them as well as do their abilities. Vigorous bodies prevent their minds from over-development; *sang froid* saves them from the torment of deep feeling; social cameraderie breeds in them a contempt for the outsider. Life is good to them, and they live it eagerly and gaily, revelling in the warmth of their blood and in the opulence of their estate. They have vigour, audacity, and assurance: and these qualities, which their fathers employed successfully in the world of business, they devote with no less success to the social occupations of life. But they have also ease and manner, wit and culture and elegance, and above all, the luxury of freedom from immediate responsibilities. They are at liberty to enjoy the mirth and the large laughter of the world without concern for its seamier and more serious sides. They participate in a merry fellowship of health and high spirits, and are bound together as a class by a sense of good form and of the sportsman's fair play. They are prodigal by habit, and endeavour to come fairly off from their great debts. Obligation is a due of honour rather than a moral sanction. Prompted readily by the sentiment of cameraderie, they give lavishly to help another of their own set out of his temporary embarrassment. But of larger sympathy they have none. For all that runs counter to their own code of life, they have a careless and a robust contempt. They are incapable of even a superficial understanding of the

strange fellows whom Nature in her time hath framed with solemn countenances and a disposition to jaundice. They are, in sum, a society destined to make intolerable the life of an alien in their midst.

Yet one amongst the Venetians, Antonio, seems to have a deeper understanding and a more compassionate heart. His friends are beginning to remonstrate with him for a growing disposition to sadness. It is withdrawing him from the right uses of company and of the world. He is marvellously changed from what he was, and being neither in love nor yet in debt, he is held to be afflicted by a causeless charge. He is taking life more seriously than they think meet, and is losing touch with their manners and their interests. But the increasing aloofness does not impair his regard for his friends' worth; he is indeed more ready to sympathise with their needs, even to the full extent of his purse, his person, and his extremest means. He is palpably intended to reflect a soul of noble honour. On every count, he is the one member of Venetian society who might understand deep suffering. Yet it is no other than Antonio who wounds the Jew most deeply by his blunt contempt.

As the play runs its course, we have seen, even more effective means suggest themselves to the dramatist for hounding Shylock into madness. The most powerful, as we have seen, is Jessica's elopement, and this brings in, not only Jessica and Lorenzo, but the instruments of the elopement, Launcelot on the one hand, and Lorenzo's friends on the other.

Launcelot's desertion of Shylock is doubtless meant to add to the Jew's ignominy. But Launcelot's testimony to the truth of circumstance carries little weight. His most reasonable excuse for running from the Jew to the Christian is that Bassanio "gives rare new liveries," and that, in Bassanio's service, there is better chance of his coming by eleven widows and nine maids, "a simple coming in for one man." How one of these unfortunate female domestics suffered from Launcelot's transfer is learnt a little later—"the Moor is with child by you, Launcelot." Launcelot has no doubt been frequently upbraided by Shylock for being a huge feeder, snail-slow in profit, and a great sleeper by day. But what is seen of him serves rather to justify Shylock's

reproof than to convict Shylock of an evil disposition. It is Shylock himself who says "the patch is kind enough."

The behaviour of Lorenzo and his friends in scheming the elopement is no less likely to wound by its flippant callousness. Shylock is invited to dinner by Bassanio. The friends of Bassanio are planning to steal away his daughter, and as a perfectly gratuitous piece of cruel fun, are bringing her disguised as torch bearer to the very banquet where her father is a guest. All that prevents the enactment of this revolting joke is not anybody's thought for Shylock's feelings, but a mere veering of the winds which makes it necessary to put off the masque and get abroad. The veering wind, however, does not save him from the loss of his daughter.

But the worst stab of all comes from Jessica's own action in her elopement. Her lie to her father who sees Launcelot whispering the arrangements to her is perhaps forgiveable on the romantic assumption that all is fair in love and war. But it is no less a lie. Yet perhaps one need not try Jessica too scrupulously for her use of words, for she has already shown with what a flippant laxity she employs the English tongue. Taking farewell of Launcelot, who is leaving for Bassanio's service, she pleasantly says to him:

> "I am sorry thou wilt leave my father so.
> Our house is hell, and thou, a merry devil,
> Didst rob it of some taste of tediousness."

It sounds like a convincing exposure of the horrors of Shylock's devil's kitchen, since it comes from his daughter's mouth. But words, after all, are not absolute in their meaning: they must be interpreted in their context. Perhaps, at this stage of the story, not enough is known of Jessica to provide a key to her terminology. But it is clear that her words have not a simple dictionary meaning. "Our house is hell" is a comprehensive expression of disapproval and disgust. But what does it really mean? "And then, a merry devil, didst rob it of some taste of tediousness." Notions of hell certainly do differ and differ very widely. But into whose idea of hell before Jessica's did the expectation of tedium ever enter? Indeed, her phrase says more of Jessica's frivolous nature than of the repulsiveness of her father's house. Shylock's

is admittedly a sober house, without gramophone or wireless and other " sounds of shallow foppery." But that hardly makes it " hell," although it may explain Jessica's tedium in it.

Her elopement strikes the same note. She appears at the upper window disguised in a boy's suit, and, oblivious altogether of the tremendous significance of her flight to her father and to her own faith, she bandies sweet dalliance with those below, and then lightly plays the cross-word tricks of conventional lovers—

" And now who knows
But you, Lorenzo, whether I am yours "?

But with this brief prelude, she comes to the solid part of the undertaking—" Here catch this casket, it is worth the pains," a strikingly flippant temper in robbing her father of his wealth, and a cruel indifference to her destruction of his family happiness. How indifferent she is appears in her next words, for she goes on into an otherwise mildly charming play with lovers' badinage :

" I am glad 'tis night, you do not look on me,
For I am much ashamed of my exchange "—

the exchange, be it noted, which brings shame to her, is not her change of faith, but merely her change of clothes :

" But love is blind and lovers cannot see
The pretty follies that themselves commit ;
For if they could, Cupid himself would blush
To see me thus transformed to a boy."

She is in fact in mock modesty preening herself in her new costume, a boy's suit, and that reminds her that, although she has already purloined a well-stuffed casket, she now has more pockets than she has ever had before ; she cuts off the talk with a remark that she'll stuff them full of more gold pieces from her father's stock :

" I'll gild myself
With some more ducats, and be with you straight."

Such is Jessica, not unworthy, in the values which are beginning to pierce through the play, of Gratiano's appraisement :

" Now by my hood, a Gentile, and no Jew."

A Jessica who does these things in this way and so unexpectedly, is clearly a girl whose revolt will strike to her father's heart.

She flippantly desecrates all that Shylock holds sacred. She destroys the foundations of his universe. His frenzied comprehension of her elopement, and of her actions after the elopement, drives him from distraction to maniacal frenzy. He is now ready to settle into the fixed madness which, despite argument and circumstance, will insist on the one retaliation left to his soul—

"An oath, an oath, I have an oath in heaven."

That is the mood in which he is made apt for the trial scene. He is now irrevocably "a strong adversary, an inhuman wretch incapable of pity." But the fury of his wrath has also brought out his cunning. The Duke's invitation to him to show human gentleness and love only reminds him of the cruelty he suffered when he made his gesture of friendship. He becomes the chosen vessel of his tribe's vengeance, sworn to it by "our holy Sabboth." The law of the Gentiles and their interest, the charter of the city's freedom, are now in his hands the instruments of the greater laws of his Prophets. To stand for judgment he will sacrifice all thought of his own selfish and material profit. He is impervious to entreaty and unruffled by abuse, a towering figure, dominating over the little men who spit at him—until Portia enters, charged by the story, of course, with the office of outwitting Shylock. But he has become too portentous a figure to be merely tricked out of his own, and Portia's is an unenviable task. At first, she rises magnificently above the petty part she is destined to play. She attempts to lift the issue to a higher plane of mercy and humanity. But Shylock is by this beyond the sense of all but justice, and with frenzied fanaticism he sees in the plea nothing but a temptation to lay perjury upon his soul. Portia, incapable of understanding, is blind to his motive and to his state of mind. Her dallying with the manuscript of the bond, her trifling with the preparation for the judgment, aimed apparently at giving Shylock further chances to show mercy, are merely further practices to make the littleness of the formal decision appear more adequate to an occasion larger altogether than its nominal scope. In retrospect, they suffer even more. For the passion for Jew-baiting imposes a further

task on Portia, and this makes her moral exaltation little better than a pose. Her hesitation to give judgment appears exactly opposite to its intention. Instead of an attempt to lead the Jew to a sense of higher things, it seems a callous trifling with a certain victim, a cat toying with the poor mouse it is about to kill. She leads him from hope to hope, to cast him more desperately down. But the Elizabethans in their racial hate went further. Portia had to invent a law by which the broken victim could be still more tormented. "The law hath yet another hold on you." The office puts her in a false position. It is strange that the Duke and all the law officers of Venice had been ignorant of a positive enactment so material to the constitution of their state. But Portia's knowledge of its existence is not merely strange. It colours her whole procedure at the trial. With this trump card in her possession, she could have won the case with a word. Neither Shylock nor Antonio need have been stretched so long on the rack of expectation and despair. The Portia who keeps them so is merely a callous barrister conducting a case with no more exalted a motive than what concerns a professional and spectacular triumph. As such, even her renowned discourse on the quality of mercy, counts against her character. Its sentiments are unquestionably noble, but they are for her no more than a pleader's rhetoric. In the act of glorifying the name of mercy, she is selfishly inflicting needless suffering on the poor mortals who provide her opportunity for a mere forensic display. Little wonder that the play cannot end with the trial scene.

The episode of the rings comes in perhaps to provide what was covenanted in the comic tradition. It is made out of the hoariest motive, confusions arising from mistaken identities. It is but superficial matter after the trial scene. Nor does it enhance the sense of Portia's nobility. But at least it takes her back to Belmont and its moonlit gardens. Even hoydenish tricks there are sweeter than questionable devices in law courts. The air of Belmont is restorative. Many of the sufferers in the play are brought by the last act to something near the pleasant disposition they were vainly meant to show from the beginning.

For however one reads the play, it is certain that the intentions of the author were in many ways defeated. Shylock, Antonio, Portia and Jessica do not stand forth as they were meant to do. The parts they were called upon to play by their author's prejudices did not square with those the dramatist worked out for them. There is throughout the clash of rival schemes, the proposals of Shakespeare's deliberate will, and the disposals by his creative imagination. And whatever the conflict makes of the particular play as a single work of art, however much the new Shylock intrudes to the destruction of its artistic unity, the emergence of the new Shylock is undeniable evidence of the incalculable value of the artist's intuition in helping humanity to reach the vital truths which in the end are revealed only through sympathy and on which the world's future welfare is indubitably to be built.

THE MIND OF PAUL: CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT.[1]

By C. H. DODD, M.A., D.D.

RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND EXEGESIS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THERE has been much discussion in recent years of the question whether or not it is possible to trace any development in the thought of Paul as it is known to us in his epistles. That the thought is at least differently presented in different epistles is clear. A generation ago most critics were confident that the differences could be explained by development through lapse of time. The idea of evolution seemed at that period to be the universal clue to knowledge in all fields, and the epistles were studied as documents for "the evolution of Paulinism." It may well be that this school over-pressed the evidence in the interests of a neat scheme of development. In reaction against this, the modern tendency is to deny that the thought of Paul underwent any substantial development during the period covered by the extant epistles, and to explain the acknowledged differences as due merely to differences of aim, or to the different circumstances in which the epistles were written. The earliest of the extant epistles, it is pointed out, can hardly be dated much, if at all, before 50 A.D. At that time Paul was at least 40 years old, probably older. He had been a Christian for fifteen years or more, a trained theologian before that, and an active Christian teacher for at least twelve years, probably longer. That was surely long enough for him to have thought out his theology, and it is unlikely that in middle age he made any such advances in thought as we should be able to recognize. The epistles, then,

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th November, 1933.

presuppose as a background a fairly complete system of thought, subject to no substantial change, though each one presents only a certain aspect of that system relevant to the particular church to which the epistle was directed, in the particular circumstances which called it forth.

Now we can hardly doubt that Paul, as an active and experienced missionary, was clear enough about the main lines of his theology before his first extant epistle was written, and I should fully admit the caution that we must not assume that because Paul does not happen to mention a particular idea in a given epistle, he had not yet thought of it, or had given it up. I should only deprecate any presumption at the outset that the mind of Paul is not likely to have developed in middle age. Some men have their system of thought fixed by the time they are 40, and never afterwards seriously modify it. Others are at that age just beginning to see their way to a system. And we may recall that about 50 A.D. Paul entered upon a new phase of his missionary work. He abandoned Antioch and the Levant, and made for Corinth and Ephesus, with Rome and even Spain as remoter goals; he found a new set of friends; and his missionary methods changed to meet new circumstances. So much we know. Would it be surprising if his thought took fresh turns?

In a previous Rylands Lecture [1] I tried to show that the epistles, studied from a psychological point of view, afford evidence of changes in the apostle's own character and personal attitude to life. The most important change, of course, is that which we call his conversion. But it was not the last change. In particular I showed reason to suppose that about the time when he wrote *II. Corinthians* he underwent a significant spiritual experience which left its mark. I now propose to examine some of the differences in his teaching which a study of the epistles admittedly reveals, and to enquire whether such differences can be correlated with this spiritual change in the apostle himself. If so, then there would be reason to suppose that they represent real development, and are not merely the result of the circumstances or the particular aim of the several epistles.

[1] "The Mind of Paul: A Psychological Approach" in RYLANDS BULLETIN, vol. 17, no. 1, Jan. 1933.

I. The Chronological Order of the Pauline Epistles.

For this purpose it is necessary to make some assumption regarding the chronological order of the epistles themselves. Fortunately four of them can be dated fairly precisely. For brevity I will give the dates in A.D.[1] A difference of a year or two in absolute chronology is possible in most cases, but the relative order is certain :—

I. Thessalonians	50 A.D. (spring).
I. Corinthians	57 A.D.
II. Corinthians	57-58 A.D.
Romans	59 A.D. (spring).

II. Thessalonians, if, as is probable, it is genuine, must be dated within a few weeks of *I. Thessalonians*, possibly before it, more likely after it. The date of *Galatians* is greatly disputed. I will not discuss it here, but refer to Burton's discussion in the introduction to his edition of the epistle in the *International Critical Commentary*. His arguments seem to me to be convincing. His conclusion is that the letter was written not earlier than Paul's stay at Corinth (50-51), and not later than his visit to Macedonia and Achaia after the Ephesian period (57-59), but that the balance is in favour of its being written at Ephesus (54-57). The view that *Galatians* was written before *I. Thessalonians* has no considerable amount of support except in this country. The Pastoral Epistles present a problem of their own.[2] That they are genuine in their present form I cannot persuade myself. That they contain genuine Pauline elements seems highly probable, but to isolate these elements, still more to find a place for them in the known life of Paul, is a difficult and delicate problem, which in any case cannot be effectively tackled until prior questions regarding the other epistles have

[1] The system of chronology adopted here is that which I have stated and briefly defended in the Oxford *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, 1931, pp. 195-197. It is substantially that of Edward Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*. (I would take this opportunity of correcting a *lapsus calami* in that article. It states that Paul was "brought before Gallio in autumn 52." As the context shows, autumn 51 was intended.)

[2] The most convincing treatment, in my opinion, is by P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*.

been in some measure settled. I will therefore leave the Pastorals out of account.

Time and Place of the Captivity Epistles.

There remain *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. These epistles, assuming their authenticity, were written by Paul from prison. So much we know from internal evidence. But as Paul himself tells us that he had been frequently imprisoned, before the time of *II. Corinthians*,[1] and *Acts* records imprisonment at Cæsarea and at Rome after that time, the mere fact that they were written from prison does not by itself settle the date. From the fourth century to the nineteenth the prevailing and almost unquestioned view was that they were written during the imprisonment at Rome with which the record in *Acts* ends. The first departure from this view was the suggestion that one or more of them may have been written from Cæsarea during the two years when Paul was awaiting trial there. If this suggestion were accepted, it would not alter the relative chronology of the Pauline Corpus, for the Captivity Epistles would still be later than *Romans*, and would still represent (if we ignore the Pastoral Epistles) the latest known phase of Paul's literary activity. But of recent years a theory has been put forth, and has won a good deal of support, that these four epistles, or certain of them, were written during an unrecorded imprisonment at Ephesus. If this were so, they would fall into the same period with the Corinthian correspondence, and before *Romans*. Thus the bulk of Paul's surviving literary output would fall within three or four years—*Romans*, *I.* and *II. Corinthians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, and probably *Galatians*. For the interpreter of Paul's thought, therefore, the epistles would be no longer landmarks in his course over some fourteen years, but in the main a reflection of his mind as it was at one particualr brief period in a long career. For any study of his development it is obviously important to arrive at some conclusion on this question, and the Ephesian hypothesis demands careful investigation.

[1] II. Cor. xi. 23.

I should like to premise a few remarks on the principles and methods of such an investigation.

(1) If there were a tradition going back continuously to the earliest period, then that tradition would hold the field unless and until evidence clearly compelled us to abandon it. The burden of proof would definitely rest upon the innovator. In the present case, however, we cannot speak of such a tradition. It is true that the majority of our early evidence assumes that the captivity epistles were written from Rome, but there is very little of it, and it is not quite unanimous, nor does it go back to a period at which we could count upon our authorities having independent information on the point. The Roman attribution is in all probability a theory based upon a comparison of the Epistles with the *Acts of the Apostles*, a theory which by the fourth century had commended itself to all informed opinion as better than any other. But the Ephesian attribution is a theory similarly based, and it would hardly be denied that the scholar of the present day, with improved critical methods, though with no other materials to work upon, is in at least as good a position to judge such theories as the fathers of the fourth century. Thus it is a case of hypothesis against hypothesis.

(2) In one respect indeed the older view has an advantage. We *know* that Paul was imprisoned for at least two years at Rome, during which he had abundant time and opportunity for correspondence. We do not *know* that he was imprisoned at Ephesus, nor are we likely ever to know this, unless some further evidence should turn up—which is not very probable. The advocates of the new view, therefore, have the initial task of making it sufficiently probable that there was in fact an unrecorded imprisonment at Ephesus.

(3) The advocates of the Ephesian theory deprecate any appeal to the evidence of language or thought in determining the relations of Paul's writings one to another. The problem, they insist, is a purely historical one, to be decided on the basis of the known facts of Paul's movements and those of his friends. It is only when we have determined the order of the epistles on such grounds that we can proceed to study their language and thought. Otherwise we introduce a subjective factor, and

are in danger of a *circulus in probando*. The danger no doubt exists; but in determining the relations of ancient writings, we are often obliged to depend on just such considerations of language and thought. The arrangement of the Platonic dialogues, e.g. is necessarily based for the most part upon evidence of that kind, and used with a due sense of responsibility such evidence is entirely admissible. When, as in the case of Paul, we have the advantage of definite historical points to start from, then in framing the hypothesis regard should chiefly be paid to concrete recorded facts; but when it comes to testing the hypothesis, similarity or dissimilarity of thought and language is a real factor in deciding whether two given writings are or are not likely to stand relatively close in time and circumstances to one another. And it may be urged that to suppose it possible to come to a conclusion solely on the basis of a comparison of the concrete historical data of the epistles on the one hand and the *Acts* on the other would be to underestimate the fragmentary character of both sources. The endless varieties of reconstructions of the facts which have been offered—and, I may add, are offered by advocates of the Ephesian hypothesis—show how far from complete our knowledge of the facts is and must remain. There are certainly cases where I should say that a recorded fact is of such uncertain interpretation that an argument based upon it is far more subjective than an argument derived from linguistic comparison. I shall, however, conduct the argument on the ground chosen by the advocates of Ephesus, up to the point at which the strictly historical evidence is exhausted.

(4) It would be useless and needless to state again the generally accepted case for Rome, or to go over the familiar reconstruction of the facts of the closing years of Paul's life which presupposes that the captivity epistles belong to that period. Admittedly it is a reconstruction, and if the captivity epistles were shown to belong to another period it would largely fall to the ground. If, however, the Ephesian hypothesis fails to maintain itself, then we shall return to the view of Paul's later years which has seemed to most critics reasonable and probable, on the Roman hypothesis.

I proceed therefore to a consideration of the Ephesian hy-

pothesis in comparison with the Roman. It must be some embarrassment to the advocates of that hypothesis, as it certainly is to their critics, that there are hardly two of them who hold it in the same form. Some put all the captivity epistles at Ephesus, some put *Philippians* there and the rest at Cæsarea or Rome, others put *Philippians* at Rome or Cæsarea and the rest at Ephesus. Some assume one imprisonment at Ephesus, others more than one. It will be simplest if instead of attempting to deal with the various and in part mutually contradictory forms of the hypothesis I select for treatment one of the most recent and elaborate presentations of it, and the only really thorough presentation of it in English, Professor George S. Duncan's book, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1929).

Professor Duncan's thesis is that during the period covered by *Acts* xix. 1—xx. 1 Paul was imprisoned three times, twice at Ephesus and once somewhere else in the Province of Asia, probably at Laodicea. The first of these imprisonments was before the writing of *I. Corinthians*, and it was at this time that *Philippians* was written. The second was at the time of the riot at Ephesus, and at this time Paul wrote *Colossians*, *Philemon* and *Ephesians*. It is to be observed, however, that *Ephesians* offers practically no independent historical data, so that for practical purposes we have to consider *Colossians* and *Philemon* alone for this second imprisonment. The question therefore of the authenticity of *Ephesians* need not be discussed in this connection. The third imprisonment was after Paul had left Ephesus, and is the θλῖψις referred to at the beginning of *II. Corinthians*.[1] This third imprisonment, however, does not greatly concern us, since it is arranged to accommodate some fragments of *II. Timothy*, and we are leaving the Pastorals out of account.

We are now to examine the arguments by which Dr. Duncan arrives at this position.

Was Paul imprisoned at Ephesus?

First, he enquires what direct evidence there is to show that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus. There is the direct statement

[1] II. Cor. i. 8.

of the apocryphal Acts of Paul, but on this he rightly lays little stress. He attaches more weight to the statement of the Marcionite Prologue to *Colossians*: "*apostolus jam ligatus scribit eis ab Epheso.*" The value of this statement, however, is seriously weakened by the fact that these prologues ascribe *Philemon*, as well as "Laodiceans" (i.e. our *Ephesians*) to Ephesus. If there is one thing certain it is that *Colossians* and *Philemon* were written at the same time and place. Apart from this, he alleges no direct evidence that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus. He proves only (*a*) that Paul was imprisoned more frequently than the author of *Acts* has recorded imprisonments;[1] and (*b*) that the Ephesian ministry was much more troubled by opposition and persecution than *Acts* allows us to see.[2] So much is certain. It is therefore *possible* that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus, and wrote letters from an Ephesian prison. But direct evidence for such an imprisonment can be forthcoming, as Duncan rightly urges, only from the captivity epistles themselves, on the hypothesis that they belong to Ephesus rather than to Rome. His task is to show that the Ephesian hypothesis meets the comparatively few known facts better than the Roman hypothesis. If he can convince us of that, then the evidence of the captivity epistles is available for the reconstruction of the Ephesian period.

Were the Captivity Epistles written from Rome?

It will be convenient to take first Dr. Duncan's arguments against the Roman hypothesis. First as regards *Colossians* and *Philemon*:—

(i) Aristarchus (in *Col.* iv. 10) and Epaphras (in *Phm.* 23). are called Paul's "fellow-prisoners" (συναιχμάλωτοι). We have no evidence that either of them was imprisoned at Rome, and it is difficult to suppose that some fresh outbreak of hostility had occurred at Rome, which might have led to their arrest. On the other hand we have evidence in *Acts* that Aristarchus was actually apprehended at Ephesus, and it is not difficult to imagine that Epaphras also suffered in the same way.

[1] II. Cor. xi. 23; I. Clem. v. 6.

[2] Evidence in I. and II. Cor. *passim*, and Rom. xvi.

But we observe that according to *Acts*,[1] when Aristarchus was apprehended, during the riot, Paul was not; though on this point Duncan rejects the evidence of *Acts*, believing, without direct evidence, that Paul *was* arrested at this time. Further, according to *Acts*, Aristarchus set sail with Paul for Rome,[2] in some sort sharing his imprisonment. We are not told that he left the party at any point in the voyage, and to assume without authority that he separated from Paul at Myra is an irresponsible conjecture, even though it is supported by the great name of Lightfoot. We have therefore constructive evidence that Aristarchus was with Paul when he was imprisoned at Rome, and direct evidence that he was a prisoner at Ephesus but not a fellow-prisoner with Paul. For Epaphras there is no evidence one way or the other.[3]

(ii) According to *Colossians*[4] and *Philemon*[5] Paul is surrounded by a group of friends. Only one of these (Luke) is definitely known to have been with him at Rome. Two of them (Aristarchus and Timothy) are known to have been with him at Ephesus, and others have connection with Ephesus or the Province of Asia.

It will be well to go over the list, premising however that if the captivity epistles are not Roman there is no source from which it is possible to learn who was or was not with Paul at Rome, apart from those who arrived there in his company according to *Acts* xxviii.

Aristarchus: was with Paul at Ephesus, *Acts* xix., and accompanied him to Rome, on the natural reading of *Acts* xxvii.-xxviii.

Epaphras of Colossæ: no evidence. Duncan argues it is more natural to find him at the neighbouring Ephesus

[1] Acts xix. 29-30. [2] Acts xxvii. 2.

[3] It is by no means certain that the word *συναιχμάλωτος* as used by Paul necessarily means anything so definite as that the person in question was in the same prison at the same time with Paul through similar legal procedure. Some writers indeed hold that *αἰχμάλωτος*, meaning "prisoner of war," is not equivalent to *δέσμιος*, a person committed to gaol, and therefore implies nothing about imprisonment in the literal sense.

[4] Col. i. 1—Timothy; iv. 10-14—Aristarchus, Mark, Jesus Justus, Epaphras, Luke, Demas.

[5] Phm. 1—Timothy; 23-24—Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke.

than at the distant Rome. But wherever Paul was, if he was to keep in touch with his churches, somebody must make the journey, long or short.

Onesimus of Colossæ. See below.

Timothy: was with Paul at Ephesus (*Acts* xix. 22, and *II. Corinthians*). No evidence that he was ever at Rome. But see below.

Mark: No evidence for either Ephesus or Rome. Duncan admits he probably did go to Rome, presumably on the evidence of *I. Peter*.

Tychicus: of Asia, and therefore more likely to be at Ephesus than at Rome. But why? He travelled as a delegate to Jerusalem,[1] and if Paul, at Rome or elsewhere, was to be kept in touch with the churches of Asia, he was a natural intermediary.

Jesus Justus: no evidence for Ephesus or Rome.

Luke: certainly with Paul at Rome, *Acts* xxviii.[2] No evidence that he was ever at Ephesus, unless *Colossians* and *Philemon* were written there, though we may think it probable.

Demas: no evidence for Ephesus or Rome. Duncan thinks that as he was a Macedonian he would be more likely to be found at the neighbouring Ephesus than at the distant Rome. But see Epaphras and Tychicus.

Epaphroditus of Philippi: no evidence for Rome or Ephesus. Philippi is somewhat nearer Ephesus than Rome; but see Demas, Epaphras and Tychicus.

Now really, can this argument be taken seriously? We have a list of ten people who were with Paul when he wrote these letters. Of these ten, we have certain evidence of two at Ephesus and one at Rome, probable evidence for one at Ephesus and two at Rome. For six we have no evidence one way or the other. Four of the six lived at places nearer to Ephesus than to Rome, but to argue that therefore they were more likely to have been with Paul there than at Rome is to misconceive

[1] Acts xx. 4.

[2] Assuming that he is the author of the "Travel-diary" from which the "We"-passages of Acts are drawn.

the conditions of the Pauline mission, which depended on the mobility of the persons who either belonged to Paul's personal staff, like Luke and Timothy, or acted as delegates of his churches, like Tychicus. The case of Onesimus I reserve.

Next, as regards *Philippians* :—

(i) *Philippians* implies acute Jewish opposition.[1] This is attested for Ephesus by *Acts*.[2] On the other hand *Acts* represents the Roman Jews as meeting Paul in a friendly if cautious spirit, and saying that they know nothing against him.[3]

Against this, we observe that the Jewish opposition of which Paul speaks is at Philippi, and not necessarily at Rome also, and that on the other hand even if *Acts* correctly represents the cautious neutrality of the Roman Jews at the moment of Paul's arrival, it is a further step to assume that when they knew more about him they still refrained from hostility. In view of what took place at other places, it is surely an improbable assumption.

(ii) *Philippians* also implies opposition from fellow-Christians.[4] The speech at Miletus expresses apprehension of false teaching in the church at Ephesus,[5] and the last chapter of *Romans*, which Duncan takes to be addressed to Ephesus, agrees with this.[6] I cannot accept this view of *Romans* xvi. for reasons which I have given elsewhere.[7] But there is no difficulty in believing that at Ephesus, as at most places, Paul suffered from dissensions in the Christian community.

But on the other hand, it is impossible to understand the Epistle to the Romans unless we suppose that Paul had good reason for thinking that his Gospel needed to be defended before the Roman Christians, and that he expected opposition there. We may add that all we know of Roman Christianity in the next age suggests that the influence of Paul was never dominant in that church ; nor was its theology of a definitely Pauline type.

If these are the only arguments that can be brought against the Roman hypothesis, then it cannot be said to be seriously shaken. Nevertheless, it may be that while there is little against

[1] Phil. iii. 2-3. [2] Acts xix. 9 ; xx. 19. [3] Acts xxviii. 17-22.
[4] Phil. i. 15-18, iii. 18-19 (?) [5] Acts xx. 29-30.
[6] Rom. xvi. 17-20. [7] *The Moffatt Commentary : Romans*, pp. xvii-xxiv.

Rome, there are positive arguments in favour of Ephesus, and since in both cases we are dealing with nothing more than an hypothesis, the hypothesis which explains the larger number of facts must prevail. We turn therefore to Dr. Duncan's statement of reasons for connecting the captivity epistles with Ephesus rather than with Rome.

Were the Captivity Epistles written from Ephesus?

First, then, as regards *Colossians* and *Philemon*.

(i) Onesimus is more likely to have fled to the neighbouring Ephesus than to the distant Rome.

This seems plausible. But a moment's reflection may convince us that we are here talking about things about which we know nothing. We cannot know either what was in Onesimus' mind or what his opportunities for travel may have been. If we are to *surmise*, then it is as likely that the fugitive slave, his pockets lined at his master's expense, made for Rome *because* it was distant, as that he went to Ephesus because it was near. But this meeting of the runaway slave with the imprisoned apostle is in any case an enigma. Did he mean to go to Paul? Or was he taken to him? Or was it the long arm of coincidence that brought about such an improbable meeting? No secure argument can be based upon an incident which we cannot in any case explain.

(ii) Paul requests Philemon to provide a lodging for him.[1] When he was imprisoned at Rome, he had, so far as we know, no intention of returning to Asia. His intention had been to go on from Rome to Spain.[2]

This is a real point in favour of the Ephesian hypothesis. At the same time we do not know that Paul would have held to his intention in the greatly changed circumstances. Like all practical men, he was open to change his mind, as in fact we know both from *Acts* and from the Epistles he not infrequently did. On the Roman hypothesis, the emergence of the Colossian "heresy" may well have led Paul to plan a visit to Asia before setting out on further travels, whether or not the plan was ever fulfilled.

[1] Philemon. 22. [2] Rom. xv. 22-24.

(iii) *Colossians* gives the impression that the Christianity of Colossæ was of recent origin, and is therefore more likely to have been written within three years of the founding of the Church there than some ten years later.

This is an entirely subjective argument. No doubt Colossian Christianity was of comparatively recent foundation, but I can find nothing in the epistle to suggest that it was two years rather than twelve years old.

(iv) When Paul wrote *Colossians* and *Philemon* (though not when he wrote *Ephesians*, apparently), Timothy was with him. We have no evidence that Timothy was ever in Rome.

A sound point, so far as it goes. But where probability must play so large a part in the argument, the advocates of Rome are entitled to reply that it is on all grounds *probable* that Paul's chief lieutenant visited Rome some time or other while Paul was there. The rest of Duncan's elaborate discussion of the movements of Paul and Timothy during the Ephesian period is of importance only if it be granted that a place for the epistles must be found in this period. It shows clearly enough that if this be granted, these movements offer no difficulty. It is not relevant to the question whether Ephesus is a more likely place than Rome for the writing of the epistles.

As regards *Philippians*, two of the arguments relating to *Colossians* and *Philemon* are again in place :

. (i) Timothy is present.

(ii) Paul is contemplating a visit to Philippi.[1] This argument is slightly stronger for *Philippians* than for *Colossians* and *Philemon*, since we know that when Paul was at Ephesus he was contemplating a visit to Macedonia,[2] whereas, so far as we know, he intended to proceed from Rome to Spain. But once again, it is possible that Paul changed his mind. The Epistle to the Romans shows that he depended for his proposed Spanish mission on the support of Rome. But on the Roman hypothesis, *Philippians* shows that a large section of the Roman church was opposed to him. We must consider the possibility that this fact might lead Paul, even if he was liberated from the

[1] Phil. ii. 24. [2] I. Cor. xvi. 5-9.

Roman imprisonment, to postpone the Spanish journey, while the Jewish opposition at Philippi might make him feel that a visit to Macedonia was desirable.

But further,

(iii) *Philippians* implies a number of journeys between Philippi and Paul's place of imprisonment. While Paul had been in prison (*a*) news of him reached Philippi, (*b*) Epaphroditus was sent to him with a gift, (*c*) Epaphroditus fell ill, and news of his illness reached Philippi, (*d*) Epaphroditus received news of the grief of the Philippians at his illness. To these we may add certain prospective journeys : (*e*) Epaphroditus is to be sent with the letter to Philippi, (*f*) Timothy is to be sent to Philippi when occasion offers, (*g*) Timothy is to return and report, and finally (*h*) Paul hopes to visit Philippi if possible. Now from Rome to Philippi is some 360 miles by land to Brindisi, a day's voyage across the Adriatic, and some 370 miles along the Via Egnatia. From Ephesus to Philippi was only from six to ten days in all. From which point are all these journeys likely to have been undertaken ? Surely from Ephesus.

Prima facie a good argument, the strongest there is in favour of attributing *Philippians* to Ephesus. But it is to be observed that while an Ephesian imprisonment can only have lasted a few weeks at most, in adopting the Roman hypothesis we are dealing with an imprisonment of at least two years, allowing ample time for all these journeys. On that hypothesis, assuming that the Philippians wanted to send a gift to Paul, and that Epaphroditus fell ill at an inconvenient moment, how were these long journeys to be avoided ? [1]

(iv) The gift of the Philippians and its acknowledgement raises some difficulties. Paul thanks the Philippians for having at long last (ἤδη ποτέ) thought of him. He corrects himself : of course they had thought of him before, but had no opportunity

[1] Josef Schmid, *Zeit und Ort der paulinischen Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, pp. 78-90, reckons that journeys (*a*)-(*d*) could be carried out between Rome and Philippi within five or six months, allowing for two or three weeks to collect the money to send to Paul, and for some small intervals between the journeys ; but that the time might be considerably reduced if news that Paul had started for Rome reached Philippi while he was still on the way. Since he lost a whole winter at Malta, it is conceivable that Epaphroditus reached Rome as soon as Paul himself.

to send a gift.[1] Suppose Paul is at Rome. Then apparently it was twelve years or more since he had received anything from them.[2] Would it not amount to a cutting piece of irony to suggest that in all that time they had had no opportunity of contributing to his needs—especially considering that he had visited Philippi twice in the meantime? If, on the other hand, he is writing from Ephesus, before the date of *I. Corinthians*, then the interval is perhaps no more than three or four years, and during part of that time Paul had been in the East or travelling in τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη, so that opportunity may really have been lacking.

This looks like a strong argument. But let us consider what we know of the financial position during the Ephesian period. At that time Paul was raising his relief fund for Jerusalem.[3] Dr. Duncan indeed holds that he did not start appealing to Macedonia for this fund until after the date which he assigns to *Philippians*. That I think improbable, but let us grant it. At least he was at this very time pressing the appeal at Corinth. The appeal gave to his enemies there an awkward handle for a charge of πλεονεξία.[4] He was, they said, really collecting money for himself. How damaging it would have been if at this very moment he was known to be accepting gifts of money for himself from the Philippians in the neighbouring province, without saying anything to them about the relief fund! And as for opportunity, he tells us that the Macedonian churches were at this time suffering from grave economic depression. Out of their "deep poverty" they contributed to the fund.[5] How long the depression lasted we cannot say, but at least until the collection was finished Paul might have said to the Philippians ἐφρονεῖτε, ἠκαιρεῖσθε δέ—"you had the mind, but lacked the opportunity." Thus this argument recoils upon its author. The one time when Paul was least likely to have received a gift of money from Philippi was the Ephesian period.

(v) *Philippians* i. 30, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες οἷον εἴδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί—"you have the same conflict as you saw me having and now hear of me having." This

[1] Phil. iv. 10.
[2] Viz. at Thessalonica (Phil. iv. 16), and possibly at Corinth (II. Cor. xi. 8).
[3] I. Cor. xvi. [4] II. Cor. xii. 14-19. [5] II. Cor. viii. 1-6.

(it is said) is more natural if the " conflict " of Paul which the Philippians saw (his imprisonment at Philippi) was near in time to the " conflict " of which they heard (his imprisonment at Ephesus).

I can see no force in this argument.

To sum up this stage of the investigation: for *Colossians* and *Philemon*, argument (iii) may be wiped out; argument (iv)—the presence of Timothy—is valid but has small weight; arguments (i) and (ii)—Onesimus and the lodging at Colossæ—have *prima facie* weight, but are inconclusive; for *Philippians*, arguments (iv) and (v) may be wiped out; argument (i)—the presence of Timothy—is valid but has small weight; argument (ii)—the proposed visit to Philippi—has *prima facie* weight, but is inconclusive; argument (iii)—the length and frequency of the journeys—is valid, but loses much of its weight if we recognize that wherever Paul may have been at the time, circumstances compelled frequent intercommunication with Philippi, and if Ephesus was near, the Roman imprisonment was long.

It must be observed that since on Dr. Duncan's hypothesis these epistles were not written during one and the same imprisonment, the arguments affecting them severally do not form a cumulative series. We could accept the Ephesian origin of *Philippians* without any resultant presumption in favour of the Ephesian origin of *Colossians* and *Philemon*, and *vice versa*.

The net result so far is that the Ephesian hypothesis has some small advantage in each case, provided we are at liberty to assume that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus. But so far we have only been convinced that such an imprisonment is possible. Unless it can be shown to be probable, then the advantage after all would lie with the Roman hypothesis, since we know that Paul was imprisoned at Rome.

Do the Captivity Epistles refer to Imprisonment at Ephesus?

Dr. Duncan's proof, briefly, runs as follows. A comparison of *Acts* and the epistles to the Corinthians shows that there were three acute crises during the Ephesian period. Granted that a *prima facie* case had been made out for connecting the captivity epistles with Ephesus, it is now legitimate to correlate their

evidence with that of *Acts* and *I.* and *II. Corinthians.* By a close examination of all the *data* of the captivity epistles, it is shown that the *data* of *Philippians* would be consistent with an imprisonment at the time of the first crisis, and the *data* of *Colossians* and *Philemon* with an imprisonment at the time of the second crisis. For evidence of an imprisonment at the time of the third crisis we must turn to *II. Timothy,* which lies outside our present field. It is not necessary to follow the minute examination of the *data* of the captivity epistles, unless we have first convinced ourselves that the *data* of *Acts* and *I.* and *II. Corinthians* are consistent, as Dr. Duncan avers, with two imprisonments at the times indicated.

(i) The first crisis is referred to in *I. Corinthians* xv. 30-32: *τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδυνεύομεν πᾶσαν ὥραν ; καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω . . . εἰ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος ;* (as the argument partly turns on the meaning of the Greek, I reserve the translation of these words). That Paul is referring to a severe crisis of opposition cannot be doubted. The question is whether his expressions suggest an imprisonment. Paul is not at the moment of writing in prison, for he is free to arrange his movements. Thus the "hourly peril," the "daily death"—strong expressions enough,—have no connection with an imprisonment. The only question is that of the meaning of *εἰ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα.* The fight with beasts, Duncan thinks, must be literal. But, he goes on, it is impossible that Paul actually fought with beasts in the arena, for in that case under Roman law he would have lost his citizen rights, which we know he retained. The meaning therefore must be "if I had fought with beasts (as in fact I did not)." Paul therefore was in such a position that he might have been condemned to fight with beasts, though actually he escaped that fate. Therefore, he had been on trial for his life, and no doubt during or preceding the trial he was imprisoned.

This is acute and ingenious. But there are difficulties. The condemnation of a Roman citizen to the beasts was an exceptional thing, reserved, so far as our information goes, for murderers, especially parricides, and for rebels.[1] No doubt at

[1] For the legal aspect of the matter, see Schmid, *Zeit und Ort,* pp. 51 *sqq.*

a later date, when Christianity was outlawed, Christians might be treated as rebels, but even then, we learn that in the persecution at Lyons and Vienne,[1] while non-citizens were condemned to the beasts, Roman citizens were sentenced to be beheaded, though it is true that one of them was in the end unconstitutionally sent to the arena at the urgency of the mob. But there is no evidence to suggest that before the Neronian persecution such a sentence on a Christian who was a Roman citizen could be seriously contemplated. It is unthinkable that such a penalty should have been proposed for the offence with which Duncan, on very slender evidence, supposes Paul to have been charged, viz. constructive "temple-robbery" (ἱεροσυλία) consisting in the alleged diversion of the contributions of Christian Jews from the Temple at Jerusalem to his own relief fund. If the cry "*Ad leonem!*" was raised against Paul at all, it was surely no more than an irresponsible outburst of popular fury. But in that case it affords no evidence for an imprisonment, since such an outburst might well have taken place at any public gathering (like, for example, the assembly in the theatre at the time of the riot). Thus even if ἐθηριομάχησα is taken literally, and not, as seems more likely, metaphorically, it does not support the theory that Paul was imprisoned at this time.

A further difficulty is the silence of *Acts* on the supposed imprisonment. This is not in itself a very serious difficulty. Whether or not Paul was imprisoned at this time, he certainly had to face bitter opposition, of which *Acts* says nothing.[2] In any case Luke does not seem to have been present at the time. But it is nevertheless somewhat difficult to understand why he has suppressed any reference to a trial which ended in acquittal, as we know must have been the case, if there was a trial at all, since Paul was at liberty when he wrote *I. Corinthians*. Dr. Duncan accounts for this by unearthing an interesting fact which had not, I think, been noticed previously. The proconsul at the time, who must have tried Paul, and also must have acquitted him, was M. Junius Silanus. This Silanus was murdered by Agrippina's orders in 54 A.D., because he was feared as a possible pretender

[1] Euseb. *H.E.* V. i.

[2] Acts xix. 9 apparently refers to an earlier part of the Ephesian ministry.

to the imperial throne. Now *Acts* was written, according to Dr. Duncan, as an apology for Paul when he was on trial at Rome. It would have been bad tactics to claim for Paul that he had found a friend in Cæsar's enemy. Luke therefore simply passed over the whole episode.

This is ingenious, and on the assumption that Paul's Roman imprisonment fell in the years 60-62, and that *Acts* was written at that time in order to assist in his defence, it would account for the silence of *Acts*. But although such an early date for *Acts* has found occasional support since it was first propounded in 1855, the majority of critics, for reasons which seem to me entirely cogent, though they cannot be discussed here, assign it to a much later period. Harnack's limits, 78-93, would be accepted by most critics, apart from those who would push the composition of the book into the second century. But by 78 A.D. the fact that the proconsul of Asia had been a victim of Nero would certainly not prejudice the reputation of one who had received favour from him, and we can only remain astonished that Luke, even though he was not an eye-witness of Paul's triumphant acquittal, failed to add it to his other instances of the favourable attitude of the imperial authorities.[1]

In spite of the silence of *Acts*, however, we cannot absolutely rule out the possibility that among the sufferings to which Paul alludes in *I. Corinthians* imprisonment was included. We have therefore to ask whether the imprisonment of *Philippians* would naturally fit in with his circumstances at that time. In *Philippians* Paul faces the possibility, or even the probability, that his imprisonment will end in death.[2] But in fact he, as a Roman citizen, was not in danger of suffering the extreme penalty as

[1] In my own view, following that of Edward Meyer (see *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, l.c.), Paul did not reach Rome before 62. By that time Seneca, whose support, according to Duncan, Luke hoped to gain, was no longer in favour, and if Acts was composed with a view to the trial, we should have to ask why the reference to his brother Gallio was not suppressed for the same reasons as the reference to Silanus.

[2] That it is a "life and death" matter is clear from Phil. i. 20, and Paul's confidence that his life will be spared (i. 25) is not based on a calculation of probabilities, but on a conviction that his life is so important to his churches that he must escape, even though by a miracle.

the immediate result of any sentence of a provincial court since he could always play his trump card, an appeal to Cæsar. Thus, in default of cogent evidence, we should not be prepared to admit that the situation presupposed in *Philippians* could have arisen at Ephesus at this time; and, as we have seen, no such evidence is forthcoming.

The case therefore for placing *Philippians* during an imprisonment at Ephesus before the writing of *I. Corinthians* breaks down, and in the course of the investigation we have found that it is difficult to place it anywhere else than in Rome, where alone Paul could fear that his imprisonment would end immediately in death.

(ii) We now turn to the second crisis at Ephesus, which Dr. Duncan places at the time of the riot raised by Demetrius. Paul, he supposes, was placed in some kind of protective custody until the storm had blown over. During this "imprisonment" he supposes Paul to have written *Colossians* and *Philemon* (with *Ephesians*). When he wrote these letters he was confidently expecting a speedy release, and so far they would fit the hypothetical situation. But for this imprisonment no evidence at all is offered. It is not referred to in *II. Corinthians*, for Duncan rightly sees that the θλῖψις of that epistle is something that happened after Paul's "sorrowful visit" to Corinth, which he places after the riot. Nor is there any allusion to it in *Acts*. And here the silence of *Acts* is even more surprising. For, if *Colossians* and *Philemon* were written at this time, then Luke was present, and he has in any case given an unusually full and vivid account of the riot, ending with the words, "After the riot was over, Paul sent for his disciples, made an encouraging speech, and then took his leave and departed for Macedonia."[1] There is no place here for an imprisonment. Nor is it a case of mere silence, for Luke relates that during the riot the crowd laid hands on Gaius and Aristarchus but that Paul was kept out of their way.[2] The clear implication is that Paul was not molested on this occasion. If in fact he was arrested and imprisoned, with however benevolent intentions, then the author of *Acts* has definitely misled his readers. But if he was so negligent,

[1] Acts xx. 1. [2] Acts xix. 29-31.

or so dishonest, a reporter, then it is hazardous to rely upon his record, as Dr. Duncan does on other occasions, even down to details. If *Acts* is to be trusted at all, there was no imprisonment at Ephesus at this time. Suppose, however, we waive this point, and allow that Paul was put in protective custody at the instance perhaps of the friendly Asiarchs. Then surely the pathos of the "ambassador in bonds" (*Eph.* vi. 20, *Philem.* 9) is overdone, if the writer knew that his "imprisonment" was a friendly device to save him from the violence of the mob. After all, the letters do not fit the supposed situation.

The case, therefore, for an Ephesian origin of *Colossians* and *Philemon* (with *Ephesians*) does not so much break down as go by default. There is no case to send to the jury.

We may sum up as follows. (i) As regards *Philippians:* the Ephesian hypothesis was shown to have some small balance of advantage over the Roman hypothesis on the score of the presence of Timothy, the great distance between Rome and Philippi, and the fact that we know Paul to have contemplated visiting Philippi from Ephesus, whereas we do not know that he thought of visiting it after his Roman imprisonment. But the bare possibility that the imprisonment of *Philippians* could be placed at Ephesus shortly before *I. Corinthians* has changed on investigation to a definite improbability, verging on impossibility. The balance therefore tips definitely to the side of Rome. (ii) As regards *Colossians* and *Philemon* the Ephesian hypothesis was shown to have some slight balance of advantage over the Roman hypothesis, on the score that Timothy was present, that Onesimus was more likely to meet Paul at Ephesus than at Rome, and that Paul is more likely to have thought of visiting Colossæ from Ephesus than from Rome. In this case the bare possibility that these epistles were written during an imprisonment at the time of the riot remains a bare possibility, supported by no evidence, and confronted by the serious difficulty of charging the author of *Acts* with deliberate misrepresentation. This is enough to destroy the balance of advantage, and we must report something like a dead heat between the two hypotheses. But this being so, we are surely justified in recalling that we know that Paul was imprisoned at Rome, while it has not been made even

definitely probable that he was imprisoned at Ephesus, and concluding that the net advantage after all rests, for these epistles also, with the Roman hypothesis, against which no serious arguments were adduced.

Arguments from Thought and Language.

It is at this point that I should bring forward those arguments from thought and language which Dr. Duncan, in common with other advocates of the Ephesian hypothesis, deprecates. Such arguments are too long and detailed to be set forth here. I would however offer a few observations. First, if Dr. Duncan's view is accepted, then about 80 per cent. of Paul's total surviving literary output is brought into one period of not more than five years,[1] during which the letters follow in rapid succession. Consequently, no argument can be founded on the recurrence of ideas or expressions in epistles of this group. Dr. Duncan realizes this and though he points out a number of parallels he lays no stress upon them for the purpose of his argument. It might indeed strengthen his case if he could show that within this group *I. Corinthians* and *Philippians* on the one hand and *II. Corinthians* and the remaining captivity epistles on the other have marked similarities. He makes no attempt to show this, and indeed it is obviously not so. But while no argument can be based on *similarities* in this field, the difficulties raised by the striking *dissimilarities* between epistles *ex hypothesi* written nearly at the same time cannot be ignored. The *data* on which the Tübingen School founded their case against the authenticity of the captivity epistles are still facts. No one can deny that the style, vocabulary and ideas of *Colossians* and *Ephesians*, and to a less degree *Philippians*, show remarkable differences from those of *I.* and *II. Corinthians* and *Romans*. We may put the matter in this way: among the epistles which the new theory

[1] Reckoning from the earliest date for Galatians which is at all probable, viz., the beginning of the Ephesian ministry, 54 A.D. in my chronology. If Galatians is later than I. Corinthians, as I think probable, the period is less than three years. In reckoning the percentage, I have counted in the whole of the Pastorals. If, as I think, the Pastorals are mostly non-Pauline, the percentage is greater. If Galatians belongs to an earlier period, then the percentage is still as high as 72 per cent., including the Pastorals.

assigns to the period between Paul's arrival at Ephesus (*Acts* xix. 1) and his departure for Jerusalem (*Acts* xx. 1), those which mention an imprisonment are also those which, as compared with all the other Pauline epistles, show the most striking peculiarities of thought and diction. If we had no life of Paul to guide us, who can doubt that on this double ground these epistles would have been regarded as forming a separate group within the corpus of his writings, and conjecturally assigned to a later period. But seeing that we have a life of Paul, if only a fragmentary one, and that this life gives us no imprisonment at the time of *I.* and *II. Corinthians*, but does give us an imprisonment some years later, we are entitled to allow full weight to the evidence of language and thought, and to prefer the later date. The best hypothesis is that which accounts for the largest number of relevant known facts. Among the facts of the life of Paul, the external facts of journeys and imprisonments are not less relevant or important than the internal facts of his spiritual and intellectual life, as reflected in the varieties of thought and diction revealed in the epistles.

I have not raised here the question of the authenticity of these epistles. Dr. Duncan accepts them all as Pauline. Few critics now have any serious doubts about *Philippians*, or about *Philemon*. A majority would be prepared to accept *Colossians*. *Ephesians* still lies under grave suspicion, but probably more critics would now be prepared to accept it than some years ago. But the rehabilitation of these epistles has depended largely upon the Roman hypothesis, which allows a lapse of time to account for their peculiarities. If the Roman hypothesis were discredited, then the question would be reopened with a prejudice against Pauline authorship. If that hypothesis stands, then all that has been said in recent years in favour of Pauline authorship has full weight.[1]

It may seem that I have dealt at disproportionate length

[1] I have briefly discussed the question of the authorship of Colossians, Philemon and Ephesians in the *Abingdon Commentary*, concluding that we may without misgiving treat the two former as Pauline (assuming that they were written from Rome), and that for Ephesians the difficulties of non-Pauline authorship are at least as great as those of the traditional attribution.

with the question of the captivity epistles. But the Ephesian hypothesis is the most serious challenge that has been offered to the generally accepted view of the chronological order of the Pauline corpus. It has not, I think, been thoroughly discussed in English literature of the subject, but one meets with a widespread vague idea that there is "something in it." This can lead only to a blurring of the outlines of our picture of Paul's career. Either it is true, and we must adjust our view of Paul's career to it, or it is false. If, as I have tried to show, it cannot stand critical examination, then we may with some confidence assume that the captivity epistles represent the latest stage of Paul's literary activity, as it is known to us. The precise order of the epistles within the captivity group is a more delicate question which we need not here decide. On the whole it seems probable that *Philippians* followed rather than preceded the others, but this view is not altogether without difficulties.

II. Evidence of Development in the Epistles.

Assuming then the chronological order of the epistles which I have tried to substantiate, I proceed to study certain aspects of Paul's thought with a view to showing that it developed in certain directions.

Our point of reference is *II. Corinthians*, and the spiritual experience which, as I suggested in a previous lecture, is reflected in that epistle. In chapters x.-xiii. we are watching the resolution of a conflict in the apostle's mind. His anxious striving to excel, and his resentment at opposition, failure and humiliation (of which there is evidence also in other epistles) here break out in a long tirade of invective and indignant self-vindication. But he pulls himself up to recall an experience in which he heard the Lord saying, "My grace is enough for you, for strength reaches perfection in weakness." And this is his response: "I consent to weaknesses, insults, necessities, persecutions and tribulations, for Christ's sake; for it is when I am weak that I am strong."[1] In other words, he has accepted weakness, limitation, and humiliation; he has withdrawn his

[1] II. Cor. xii. 8-10.

claim upon life for power, predominance and conspicuous success.[1] He has become reconciled to experience.

I propose now to trace certain changes of attitude which seem to date from the same point in his career, in two departments of religious thought, viz. (1) eschatology and the valuation of the natural order, and (2) the universality of the Christian religion.

1. *Eschatology and the Valuation of the Natural Order.*

It seems clear that Paul started with eschatological beliefs of the type best represented by such Jewish writings as the *Book of Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and the *Apocalypse of Ezra* (*II Esdras*), especially the last-named. The apocalyptists despaired of the present world-order (" This Age "), as being under the dominion of diabolic powers, and looked for a new order (" The Age to Come "), in which the sovereignty of God would be effectively manifested in a radical renewal of the whole universe. His enemies would be destroyed, the righteous dead would be raised to share in His triumph, and the elect still living would be transfigured into bodies of glory, to inhabit the new heavens and new earth. All this would come about by a catastrophic divine intervention, marked by the appearance of God's vicegerent, the Elect One, often called the Son of Man (or the Man), who would rule the new world in everlasting righteousness.

When Paul became a Christian, his new beliefs were fitted into this framework. The Age to Come, he held, had already begun, with the resurrection of Christ. It must shortly be consummated by His appearance in glory. Thus he tells us that he had preached to the Thessalonians that they " should turn from idols to the living and true God, and await His Son from heaven—Jesus, who is our deliverer from the coming retribution." [2] They would not have long to wait. Although Paul had already waited at least fifteen years since his conversion, yet in his earliest letters he is still expecting the Advent almost immediately. The Thessalonians indeed had understood him to say " that the Day of the Lord is already here." [3] He had to correct

[1] I here summarize briefly what I set forth at length in RYLANDS BULLETIN, vol. 17, no. 1.

[2] I. Thess. i. 9-10.

[3] II. Thess. ii. 2.

this impression. Before the Lord comes, "the man of iniquity," the Antichrist, must appear, and so far his appearance is delayed. Yet he is already secretly at work, and the time cannot be long.[1] At any rate, Paul is certain that he himself and the majority of his converts will be alive to "meet the Lord in the air." Evidently he had expressed himself at Thessalonica in such unqualified terms that his converts had been seriously shaken by the death of some of their number before the Advent, and he reassures them, and himself, that such exceptional cases will not be at a disadvantage because they have been thus temporarily separated from the main body of those who await the Lord from heaven.[2]

Some seven years later, in writing *I. Corinthians*, Paul still betrays his conviction that he and at least some of his converts will be alive to meet the Lord. "We shall not all fall asleep, but we shall all be changed. . . . For there will be a trumpet-call, and the dead will rise immortal, and *we* shall be changed."[3] The emphatic "we" shows that Paul unquestioningly places himself among the survivors. The Advent therefore is still expected within the period of his reasonable expectation of life. He is still certain that "the time is short."[4] At the same time there is a slight change of emphasis. Whereas in *I. Thessalonians* it is distinctly exceptional for a Christian to die before the Advent, in *I. Corinthians* he has to assure his readers that *not all* Christians will die. He himself, with others, will survive to the Advent.

After *I. Corinthians* we hear no more of that confident expectation, so far at least as Paul himself is concerned. On the contrary, in *II. Corinthians* he has faced the fact that it is possible or probable that he will "go to stay with the Lord" through death. His "outward self" is decaying, but his "inward self" is being renewed, and he has a "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" with which (by a mixture of metaphors) he will be "clothed" when his earthly "tabernacle" is dissolved.[5] It is possible that when he says "Death works in us but life in you,"[6] he means that though he will die, his readers

[1] II. Thess. ii. 3-7. [2] I. Thess. iv. 13-17.
[3] I. Cor. xv. 51-52: οἱ νεκροὶ and ἡμεῖς are audithetical terms.
[4] I. Cor. vii. 29. [5] II. Cor. v. 1-4. [6] II. Cor. iv. 12.

will survive until the Advent. In any case, the Advent is no longer to be in his lifetime. It seems probable that the extreme danger of death in which he had recently stood [1] had helped to alter his outlook in this respect. Logically this should make no difference to his conviction that the Lord will soon come; but psychologically, an event which lies beyond the limits of one's own reasonable expectation of life, and belongs therefore to the unknown future, in which years and centuries are alike, has ceased to be in any vital sense imminent. And we do in fact find that in subsequent epistles the thought of the imminence of the Advent retires into the background.

In *Romans* we have the one passage, xiii. 11-14, "Our salvation is now nearer than it was when we became Christians. The night is advanced: the day has drawn near." The whole passage echoes *I. Thessalonians* v. 1-11; but a comparison of the two passages reveals an unmistakable change of tone. In the earlier epistle the tone is one of intense, almost excited, urgency. *At any moment* the Lord may be here. In the later the tone is (shall we say?) that of an earnest preacher, but not that of the herald of an imminent catastrophe. And this change of tone is more remarkable when we observe that this is the only passage of this kind in the whole long epistle, and it is almost by way of an afterthought, appended when the main business of the epistle is complete. Throughout the great argument no appeal is made to the thought of the imminent Advent. Instead, we have a greater emphasis than ever before upon the idea that the Christian, having died and risen with Christ, is already living the life of the new age.[2] The consummation indeed is still awaited, but awaited without urgency, because the substance of our hope is a present possession.[3]

In the captivity epistles we miss even this remnant of Paul's earlier impatient expectation. In *Colossians*, the close of the ethical exhortations, iv. 1, corresponds with the point in *Romans* at which the thought of the Advent is adduced as an ethical motive, but there is no passage here corresponding to *Romans* xiii. 11-14. Again, i. 23, which speaks of "the Gospel hope,"

[1] II. Cor. i. 8-9. [2] Rom. vi. 1-11; viii. 9-11. [3] Rom. viii. 18-39.

and iii. 4, which speaks of the manifestation of Christ and our manifestation with Him in glory, would be appropriate points at which to remind the Colossians that this great hope was shortly to be fulfilled; but there is no such reminder. The case of *Philippians* is even more striking, just because Paul, standing face to face with death, has much to say of heavenly glory. "We await a Saviour from heaven, our Lord Jesus Christ, who will transfigure our body of humiliation into the form of His body of glory."[1] It is the old expectation, but no longer with the earlier insistence on the imminence of the change. The moral of it is that we should bear in mind that "we are a colony of heaven, from which we await our Saviour." That is, the eschatological expectation has come to be subordinated to the thought of the heavenly life (the life of the new age) lived here and now. The words of iv. 5, "the Lord is near," are often taken to be an isolated expression of the imminence of the Advent. But the context here is not eschatological, and the words are a reminiscence of *Psalm* cxlv. 18, "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon Him," which speaks, as does the passage in *Philippians*, of the nearness of the Lord to hear and answer prayer. In *Ephesians* there is no passage which even approaches the thought of an imminent Advent.

We seem then to be able to trace a quite definite change of outlook on this particular point. It might perhaps seem that it is not of great importance, as being merely a readjustment, so to speak, of the eschatological time-table. But in effect it is much more than that. If the Advent is expected within a few years or months—or indeed at any moment—then the present life, with all its blessings and obligations, is strictly provisional, and the mind is set wholly upon glories to come. But if the Advent is deferred to an indefinite future, then the present gains in significance. And as we have seen, side by side with a diminishing emphasis on the imminence of the Advent goes a growing emphasis on the eternal life here and now in communion with Christ. This is sometimes described as the transformation of eschatology into mysticism, and the expression

[1] Phil. iii.20-21.

will serve. Paul's thought was indeed never wholly eschatological nor did it ever become purely mystical, but there is nevertheless a real development, and it is noteworthy that the turning-point seems to lie somewhere about the time of *II. Corinthians.*

There is a further consequent development with which I must deal more fully. Apocalyptic eschatology, as we have seen, implies a radical devaluation of the present world-order in all its aspects. The apocalyptists are never more eloquent than when they are describing the entire worthlessness of " This Age " and of the world and human life under its conditions. The only hope of good lies in the speedy passing away of the whole empirical order.

In Paul's earlier epistles a similar depreciation of the present order is evident. The clearest passage is *I. Corinthians* vii. The whole discussion of ethical problems in this chapter is controlled by the maxim: " The time is short . . . the fashion of this world is passing away." [1] The Christian therefore must detach himself from its transient concerns. Its joys and sorrows do not touch him. If he buys, it is not to possess. If he has a wife, let him be as though he had none.[2] The married man cares for the things of the world, the unmarried for the things of the Lord.[3] Detachment is best secured by refusing to take any interest in changing one's condition, but just " carrying on " until the end—if you are married, stay so, if unmarried, do not seek a wife, if a slave, never mind.[4] This doctrine of " carrying on " may be regarded as some sort of mitigation of the extreme other-worldliness which would withdraw from the world altogether, but it is not due to any admission of the worth of the natural order, but to Paul's robust common sense, which similarly deprecated the tendency of the Thessalonians to give up their employment and wait for the end. The world may

[1] I. Cor. vii. 29, 31. [2] I. Cor. vii. 29-30. [3] I. Cor. vii. 32-34.

[4] I. Cor. vii. 27, 21. Here, however, there is a slight concession, for *εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι μᾶλλον χρῆσαι* almost certainly means " If you do get a chance to be free, take advantage of it." (See my article in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1924, vol. xxvi. no. 101, p. 77.) The slave is not to set his heart on freedom: that would be " caring for the things of the world "; but if the opportunity comes his way he should not reject it. Inconsistent, perhaps, but hardly more so than the exhortation to the Thessalonians to work.

be coming to an end, but while it lasts you must eat, and in order to eat you must work.[1] But in the ethical passages of the Thessalonian epistles there is no recognition of any positive value in human institutions, any more than there is in *I. Corinthians.*

It is therefore striking to find in *Romans* xiii. 1-11, a positive valuation of the political institutions of the Roman Empire. It is not simply a recognition that the worldly power is there by God's ordinance. The apocalyptists could say as much. Nor is it simply that the Empire is there to restrain the final outburst of evil until the time appointed by God for the appearance of Antichrist, as Paul held when he wrote *II. Thessalonians.* He now holds that the Empire is a positively good thing. Its magistrates are "servants of God," even "priests of God" (λειτουργοὶ Θεοῦ), charged with a beneficent function in the providential government of the universe. We may contrast the contemptuous tone in which the imperial courts of justice are dismissed in *I. Corinthians* vi. 1-11. Thus to pay taxes is not merely a counsel of prudence, nor even a meritorious submission to human oppression, but a part of the service of God and a way of fulfilling the command to love your neighbour as yourself. The sharp distinction between "the things of the Lord" and "the things of the world" has begun to wear thin.

Along with this recognition of the value of human institutions we may place the recognition of the instinctive goodness of the natural man in *Romans* ii. 14-15: "When pagans who have no law do by nature what the law enjoins, then, though they have no law, they are their own law, since they exhibit the effect of the law inscribed on their hearts, while their conscience bears witness, and their reasonings reciprocally condemn or defend them." We may contrast this passage with the stern dualism of *II. Corinthians* vi. 14-vii. 1 (probably an erratic block from an earlier letter to Corinth of which the rest has been lost):

[1] II. Thess. iii. 6-12. Paul has learned from the ill-fated experiment in Communism in the Church of Jerusalem. See my article "*Communism in the N.T.*," *Interpreter*, 1921, vol. xviii., no. 1. We must remember that he had already had several years of missionary experience, which corrected the severe logic of his eschatology.

" What participation has right with wrong, or what has light in common with darkness, or what agreement has Christ with Belial, or what part has a believer with an infidel? " Surely we have here again evidence of the new valuation of " the world " which went along with Paul's revision of eschatology. We find the same attitude in the famous passage, *Philippians* iv. 8-9, where the expression is, with evident intent, made wide enough to cover " virtue " and " praise " wherever they are to be found —surely not in the Church alone.

It is noteworthy that the language and ideas of all these passages are reminiscent of Stoicism. The new orientation of Paul's thought seems to have given him greater freedom to appreciate and appropriate the best elements in the loftiest moral philosophy of the pagan world.

In *Colossians* we find a still more remarkable development. This is the first letter which contains a section dealing with Christian ethics in family life.[1] It is not always realized how significant it is that there should be such a section at all. In *I. Corinthians* vii. family life belongs to " the things of the world " as opposed to " the things of the Lord." It is a part of " the fashion of this world " which " is passing away." All that Paul can say at that stage is " Let those who have wives be as though they had none." On such a basis there could be no such thing as the Christianizing of family relationships. In *Colossians* we have a meagre enough treatment of family duties, but so far as it goes it is positive. " Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fitting *in the Lord*." It is those last words that are important: marriage is now " in the Lord "; it belongs to " the things of the Lord." " Husbands, love your wives "—not, behave as though you had none.[2] " Children obey your parents in all things, for this is pleasing *in the Lord*." And children have their rights: " Fathers, do not irritate your children, lest they should lose heart." Slaves (who are also members of the *familia*)

[1] Col. iii. 18-iv. 1.

[2] Is it a truism that husbands should love their wives? It was not so to all Greeks. See the pseudo-Demosthenic *Contra Neaeram*, § 122, p. 1386: " We have courtezans for pleasure, concubines for the daily care of the body, and wives for the sake of having legitimate children and a trustworthy caretaker of the home." Besides which, *ἀγάπη* is not *ἔρως*.

must render their service "as to the Lord and not to men," and their masters must treat them with "justice and equity." Slaves are told "You are the Lord's slaves," and masters, "You have a Master in Heaven." Thus the slave, remaining in servitude within the social framework of the time, becomes "in the Lord" a full moral personality, responsible directly to God, like his master. We may wish, from our modern point of view, that Paul had gone further; but to take slavery in hand and set out to Christianize it was a more hopeful way of dealing with it than the complete detachment of *I. Corinthians* vii.

Here again the Stoic affinities of Paul's teaching are to be observed. The exposition of tables of duties (*τὰ καθήκοντα* [1]) under headings of this kind is characteristic of the popular teaching of that school. Hierocles the Stoic in the early second century arranged his work on social ethics in the following sections: (i) How to behave to the gods; (ii) How to behave to one's country; (iii) How to behave to parents; (iv) On love between brothers; (v) How to behave to kinsfolk; (vi) Household management; (vii) On marriage and children.[2] Hierocles certainly did not originate this method. There were doubtless Stoic models for Paul in the first century. But while he follows the customary forms, the content of his teaching, slight as it is, is something more than a mere adaptation of current ethics. The religious principle that in Christ there is no distinction of male and female, bond and free, has begun to find expression in social morality. The woman, the child, and the slave, while retaining their various degrees of subordination according to the social structure of Græco-Roman civilization, have claims as well as duties of their own as moral personalities.

In *Ephesians* we have a still more remarkable development of the teaching on marriage (v. 21-33). Here the love of husband and wife becomes a *μυστήριον*, a sacrament, of the love of Christ and the Church. That is to say, the marriage relation, which

[1] This Stoic term reappears in Rom. i. 28, *ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα*: cf. Col. iii. 18, *ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν κυρίῳ*.

[2] *Τίνα τρόπον θεοῖς χρηστέον, πῶς πατρίδι χρηστέον, πῶς χρηστέον τοῖς γονεῦσιν, περὶ φιλαδελφίας, πῶς συγγενέσι χρηστέον, οἰκονομικὸς, περὶ γάμου καὶ παιδοποιΐας.* See Prächter, *Hierokles der Stoiker*. The text of Hierocles is reconstructed from extensive excerpts in Stobaeus.

in *I. Corinthians* vii. was regarded as irrelevant to the Christian life, is made the vehicle of the highest conceivable spiritual values. It is clearly impossible at the same time to follow the two maxims : " Let those who have wives be as though they had none," and " Love your wives as Christ loved the Church and gave Himself up for it." This radical contradiction has been taken as one reason for denying the Pauline authorship of this epistle. But it lies on the line of development which we have traced. The teaching of *Ephesians* fits into the framework of *Colossians*, though it does not fit into the framework of *I. Corinthians*. If the thought of Paul did not change or develop, then it is impossible to attribute *Ephesians* to him ; but it is only a little less impossible to attribute *Colossians* to him, for the decisive difference lies between *I. Corinthians* and *Colossians*, not between *Colossians* and *Ephesians*. If we are prepared to recognize a development, then the teaching of *Ephesians* represents on this side the climax of that development.

Once again therefore we have to report that while the earlier epistles show a radical denial of the value of the present order, the later epistles show a recognition of natural human goodness, of the relative value of human institutions, and of the possibility of taking them up into the Christian life. The turning point is somewhere about the time of *II. Corinthians*.

2. *Universalism, and the Idea of Reconciliation.*

In a previous Rylands Lecture I tried to show that what we may call the Gentile question must have been already a factor in Paul's personal conflict before his conversion. The Pharisees in general were deeply concerned about the Gentiles. Many of them were active in proselytism. Their views regarding the ultimate fate of Gentiles varied through a wide range,[1] but a strong interest in the question seems to have been general. For Paul the problem must surely have been pressing, with his natural sympathy and curiosity, and his upbringing in a great centre of pagan culture. What his actual attitude was, whether that of the humaner and more broad-minded Pharisees,

[1] *V.* G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Part II., ch. i., ch. vii.

or that of the more narrow and gloomy school, we have no direct evidence to show. But all that we can deduce of his general position—his fanatical strictness about the law, his intense nationalism, his gloomy intolerance, would suggest that he repressed all humaner tendencies in the interests of his legal absolutism.

It would seem that the Jewish writing which best represents Paul's pre-Christian position is the *Apocalypse of Ezra* (*II Esdras*). Again and again we find that this work raises the questions which Paul's Christian theology answers. A striking example is the question of faith and works in relation to the mercy of God and the salvation of men (viii. 32-36). Now the problem which most burdens the mind of "Ezra" is that of the fate of the majority of the human race. On his premises—that God has promised eternal life to those who keep His commandments, and to them alone—it follows inevitably that the great bulk of humanity has been created only to perish. In various forms the apocalyptist returns to the problem, and the divine voice inexorably confirms the revolting conclusion. While his human heart protests "*O tu terra, quid peperisti . . . melius enim erat et ipsum pulverem non esse natum*" (vii. 62 *sqq.*), the calm voice of the Judge of all coldly asserts and reasserts that as the earth produces but little gold and silver, and much base metal and clay; as but little of the seed sown in it ever comes to maturity; so it is eternally fitting that of mankind but a small remnant should be saved. "*Ecce paene omnes in perditione ambulant et in exterminium fit multitudo eorum*" (x. 10).

I cannot but think that this same dreadful conflict raged in Paul's mind between his human feelings and the demands of that devotion to the Law in which he sought the glory of life. "Ezra" finds no way out: he steels his heart to accept this inflexible and gloomy eschatology in which at most but an elect handful of Jews inherits the Age to Come, while the rest of mankind perish in inconceivable misery. Paul did find a way out. In that very experience through which he himself died and rose again there was given the belief that not those who do the works of the Law are justified, but those who having no good works receive through faith the mercy of God (the belief which "Ezra"

had suggested only, as it seems, to reject it, viii. 36); consequently the world to come could not be confined to Israel. From the very outset Paul's Christianity must have involved a mission to the Gentiles. It is true that we have no direct evidence in his epistles for the earliest years of his Christian life, and doubt has been cast on the narrative in *Acts*,[1] on the ground that the story of the mission from Antioch is inconsistent with the statement that Paul's conversion included a call to preach to the Gentiles. In any case, as soon as the evidence of epistles begins, Paul is a missionary to the Gentiles. The earliest of the epistles, *I. Thessalonians* (50 A.D.) assumes, without arguing it, that the divine election has passed from the Jews to a church of Jews and Gentiles. Further, *Galatians* ii. provides evidence that in the period before his concordat with the Jerusalem apostles (probably 48 A.D.), he had made uncircumcized Gentile converts; and the implication of the whole passage is that he was not aware of this being any new departure. It was the kind of work he had begun in Syria and Cilicia fourteen years earlier. This evidence is indeed not conclusive, but so far as it goes it confirms what I have shown to be extremely probable *a priori*, that for Paul to accept Jesus meant that he was outside the Law, and therefore on common ground with Gentiles, and hence that the true Church of Christ must rest upon the principle—"there is no distinction"; "in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek."[2]

In one sense this already means the universality of the Christian religion. Yet we must define more closely what Paul's new position is. According to *I. Thessalonians* ii. 16, "the Wrath" has fallen *finally* on the Jews,—εἰς τέλος implying that this sentence of reprobation cannot ever be reversed. Similarly, according to *Galatians* vi. 15-16, the Israel of God is co-extensive with those who believe in Christ and excludes all those who make circumcision and the Law necessary to salvation. Unless he has expressed himself incautiously in the heat

[1] Acts ix. 15, xxii. 21, xxvi. 16-18. It is to be observed that all three accounts of Paul's conversion represent it as being at the same time a call to preach to the Gentiles. This is more impressive if, as it seems reasonable to suppose, the various accounts go back to more than one source.

[2] Rom. iii. 22, x. 12; Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11.

of controversy, not only Jews, but even Jewish Christians who enforce the Law are "anathema" (i.e. חֵרֶם, placed outside the holy community and devoted to "wrath," *Galatians*, i. 8-9). The Law itself is not divine, but originates with those lower powers which are for Paul at least potentially the enemies of men's salvation—the angels in Jewish language, the "elementals of the universe" (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) in pagan phrase.[1] To be committed to the Law is to fall under this domination, and outside the sphere of grace and election. On the other hand, all pagans are, of course, *ipso facto* outside the Israel of God, which can have no intercourse with them (*II. Corinthians* vi. 14-vii. 1).

Thus in place of the tiny remnant of Israel which alone will inherit life according to "Ezra," Paul has put an equally closed and scarcely larger body of Christians, whether of Jewish or pagan origin, who repudiate the Law as a means of salvation.[2] His attitude to all who fall outside this small body is as negative as that of "Ezra." He is still content with the eschatology of "Ezra" and his like, except that for the Jewish community he puts the new Israel of God, and for the enemies of the Jews the persecutors of the Church. His picture of the end in *II. Thessalonians* is painted in colours from the crudest palette of Jewish eschatology: "It is just in God's sight to pay back distress to those who distress you, and relief with us to you who are distressed, when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven with the angels of His power, with a flaming fire, taking vengeance on those who do not know God, and do not obey the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Their penalty will be eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of His strength when He comes to be glorified in His saints and to be admired among all who believed."[3]

The eschatology of *I. Corinthians* differs in certain respects

[1] Gal. iii. 19, iv. 8-11. As the Galatians are tempted to revert to Jewish usages, it can only be the observance of the Mosaic Law that is meant by ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας: but these belong to the domain of the στοιχεῖα, who here are placed on the level of μὴ ὄντες θεοί. Cf. Col. ii. 20.

[2] That one might practice the Law as a matter of expediency he admits, I. Cor. ix. 19-23, cf. Gal. vi. 15.

[3] II. Thess. i. 6-10. If, as is possible, Paul is quoting from a current apocalypse, he adopts its teaching as his own.

from that of *I.* and *II. Thessalonians*. Some features remain, but here it is no longer said that the Lord at His Advent will destroy the persecutors of His Church. The immediate sequel of the Advent, indeed, however it was conceived, is passed over in silence, and we learn that ultimately Christ will destroy the principalities, authorities and powers, i.e. the "angelic" beings (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) hostile to the salvation of man.[1] These are the enemies whom He will put under His feet. The last of them is Death, conceived as a quasi-personal power. When this last enemy is destroyed, the Kingdom will be surrendered to God, who will then be "all in all."[2] Now it may be that at the time when *I.* and *II. Thessalonians* were written, Paul already looked forward to this ultimate unity of all things in God as the remoter goal of the eschatological process, but nothing is there said of it. And it may be that when he wrote *I. Corinthians*, he still believed that Christ would destroy pagans and unconverted Jews; but again, nothing is here said about it. In any case the change of emphasis is unmistakable. The main interest at least is no longer in the destruction of the human enemies of the Church, but in the overcoming of spiritual powers of evil, to make way for a grand unification of the universe in Christ. The question is not yet explicitly raised, what becomes of rejected Jews and pagans, or of the defeated angelic powers, when God is all in all. But it is a question that calls for an answer.

Now in the epistles which follow *II. Corinthians* the tendency already noted in *I. Corinthians* is carried much further. Just as Paul's revision of eschatology involved a transcending of the absolute dualism which relegated the whole natural order to the realm of evil, so it is accompanied by a movement away from absolute dualism in the field now under consideration.

First, while *I. Thessalonians*, as we have seen, proclaims the final and irrevocable rejection of the Jews, and this seems to be implied in *Galatians* also, in *Romans* xi. there is an elaborate argument to prove that their rejection cannot be final.[3] They have been temporarily rejected only in order that the Gospel

[1] I. Cor. xv. 23-24. [2] I. Cor. xv. 25-28. [3] Rom. xi. 13-32.

may be taken to the Gentiles, and when the "full strength" (πλήρωμα)[1] of the Gentiles has entered the Church, then "all Israel will be saved." Thus the small handful of the Elect is increased by the ultimate addition of *all* Jews, as well as of the "full strength" of the Gentiles. This latter expression might mean no more than the full number elected to salvation, but at the end of the argument Paul affirms, "God shut up all in disobedience in order that He might have mercy upon *all*."[2] The coming of Christ in fact marks a crisis in God's dealings with the human race, in that down to that time His purpose proceeded by successive stages of exclusion (Ishmael, Esau, the unrepentant Israel of prophetic times, and the Jews who rejected Christ), but since His resurrection it proceeds by way of inclusion, until in the end no member of the human race is left outside the scope of salvation.

We may observe that the belief in the ultimate salvation of the Jews goes along with a milder attitude to the Law. Whereas in *Galatians* it is the instrument of the angelic powers for the enslavement of God's people—an enslavement which He permitted until "the fulness of the time"[3]—in *Romans* it is in itself holy, spiritual, just and good, but because of the weakness of the flesh was incapable of effecting its true purpose, to give life;[4] and in *II. Corinthians* it is represented as containing in a veiled form the truth plainly revealed in Christ.[5] This indicates a less intransigent attitude in Paul's controversy with the legalists, which finds expression also in his plea for unity between the Jewish and Gentile wings of the Church in *Romans* xv. 7-12. If we keep this in mind, then the emphasis in *Ephesians* upon the unity of Jew and Greek in the Church is seen to be

[1] πλήρωμα is used of the "full strength" of a battalion, or the crew of a ship.

[2] I have tried to show that Paul meant exactly what he said, in *The Moffatt Commentary: Romans*, pp. 183-186.

[3] Gal. iv. 24, v. 1. The παιδαγωγός of iii. 24 is not a "teacher to bring us to Christ," but an agent of repressive discipline which places the heir in a servile position (cf. iv. 1-3), *until* Christ brings the day of emancipation; and the servitude of the Jews to the Law is on a level with the servitude of the pagan to "no-gods," iv. 8-10.

[4] Rom. vii. 12, 14; viii. 3.

[5] II. Cor. iii. 14-18.

in harmony with Paul's later irenic attitude in this matter.[1] I do not suggest that there is any necessary logical connection between a belief in the ultimate salvation of the Jews and this more tolerant attitude towards Jews (within or without the Church) who at the time still persisted in their attachment to the Law; but psychologically the two things are not unrelated.

But this "universalism" in the apostle's thought takes a still wider range. In *Romans* viii. 19-23, he contemplates an ultimate "redemption" of the whole creation. This is no doubt connected with the dogma of apocalyptic eschatology, that in the Age to Come the whole created universe would be made anew. In order to get the full significance of this we must recall that according to this type of thought the created universe is at present under the control of subordinate and partly hostile powers—Paul's "angels, principalities and powers," or "elementals of the universe." Its redemption is its liberation from this control. For minds which thought in these terms, it was necessary to ask the question, what becomes of these "world-rulers" (κοσμοκράτορες, as they are called in *Ephesians* vi. 12)? The apocalyptists in general conceived them as being either destroyed or reduced to impotence and imprisoned for ever. In *I. Corinthians* xv. Paul says that they will be put under the feet of Christ—and leaves them there. In *Colossians*, however, while he still speaks of a "triumph" of Christ over the principalities and powers,[2] he also says that it pleased God "to reconcile all things to Himself (having made peace through the blood of His cross) through Him—things on earth and things in heaven."[3] What is meant by "things in heaven" is clear from i. 16: "in Him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or principalities or authorities; all were created through Him and for Him." Thus the doctrine of *II. Corinthians* that "God was in Christ

[1] It has been objected to the historical credibility of Acts that it represents Paul as altogether too *complaisant* to the Jewish section of the Church, in view of his polemical attitude in the Epistles. But in his later phase, having won his victory in principle, Paul was a peacemaker rather than an antagonist.

[2] Col. ii. 15. [3] Col. i. 20.

reconciling the world to Himself "[1] is now seen to have a reference even beyond the limits of the human race, and the vague phrase of *I. Corinthians* xv. 28—"that God may be all in all," receives a more precise and a fuller meaning. That meaning is put briefly in the words of *Ephesians* i. 10, "to sum up all things in Christ, things in heaven and things on earth." (Here again *Ephesians* fits aptly into the general line of development.) The ultimate unity of all things in God is secured not by the mere suppression or destruction of hostile elements, human, sub-human or super-human, but by bringing them all into harmony with the will of God as expressed in Christ. This is a conception of the destiny of the universe which not only goes far beyond anything in Jewish apocalyptic, but also means a great advance upon anything which finds expression in Paul's own early epistles. We may further observe that if the whole created universe is salvable, then there can be no finality in the distinction between "the things of the Lord," and "the things of the world"—a distinction sharply drawn in *I. Corinthians*, but later kept out of view, as we have seen.

Here again the decisive change seems to be associated with the period represented by *II. Corinthians*, though the question is a little complicated by the uncertainty about the precise date of *Galatians*. The case would be pretty clear if we might assume that *II. Corinthians* x.-xiii. and *Galatians* were virtually contemporary, *II. Corinthians*, i.-ix. as a whole later, and *II. Corinthians* vi. 14-vii. 1, a fragment of a letter prior to *I. Corinthians*—a view which has been adopted by a large number of critics, on grounds independent of the present argument. But though we may have to confess that we cannot have any certainty on these points, it does at least seem clear that after the period represented by *Galatians* and by *II. Corinthians* as a whole, there is a growing emphasis on the idea of reconciliation, and a growingly clear expression of a belief in the ultimate universality of salvation in Christ.

[1] II. Cor. v. 19. It is noteworthy that the words καταλλάσσω, ἀποκαταλλάσσω, καταλλαγὴ are not found in any epistle earlier than II. Cor., except in I. Cor. vii. 11, when καταλλάσσω is used of the reconciliation of estranged husband and wife. On the other hand, they occur in important passages of II. Cor. (i.-ix.), Romans, Colossians and Ephesians.

Conclusion.

It remains to show that the changes to which I have called attention—the revision of eschatology, involving the revaluation of the natural order, and the growth of universalism—can be correlated with the spiritual change to which, as I have suggested, *II. Corinthians* bears witness.

These changes have one common characteristic: they all involve the transcending of a certain harsh dualism—the dualism of "things of the Lord" and "things of the world," of "this age" and "the age to come," of the "elect" and the rest of humanity, of redeemed humanity and the whole living universe. This dualism is very deeply rooted in the apocalyptic eschatology which moulded the *Weltanschauung* with which Paul began; but he outgrew it.

Now Jewish apocalyptic has some very noble elements, but from a psychological point of view it must be described as a form of compensation in fantasy for the sense of futility and defeat. Historically it was bred of the despair of the world which fell on the Jews under acute and prolonged oppression. It is in fact one way of dealing with the problem of evil when it presents itself in an emotionally overwhelming form. The world seems full of suffering and injustice, and we, its victims, are helpless. How then can we believe in a righteous God? The apocalyptists replied, in effect: These things must be in a world which, like this world, is left by God under the control of evil powers; but in His time He will intervene and bring in His own world, and then we shall be compensated for all our sufferings and see our desire upon our enemies. It is of the essence of the case that "we" are God's elect, to "us" belongs the world to come, "our" cause is the cause of righteousness, and "our" enemies are doomed to destruction. The world as we meet it from day to day is essentially hostile; our fellowmen, unless they be of our faction, are not "neighbours" whom we can love, but enemies doomed to destruction; the order under which we live is a proper object for resentment. There is no acceptance of life as it is, or reconciliation to experience as it comes, for we do not meet God in it. We set ourselves

against the actual world, believing that God is with us, but not in it. We expect of Him that He will vindicate us at the expense of all else. Thus apocalyptic represents the apotheosis of a personal claim upon reality for satisfaction, power, and vindication.

There is another way of confronting the problem of evil. It is to believe that although there is evil in the world, yet it is God's world, and the sphere of His Kingdom. His purpose is becoming effective in every part of it, though with varying degrees of intensity. Its inhabitants are all His children, and it is His will to save them all. In all our contacts with the world, we are in touch, in one way or another, with His purpose. We are here in order that His will may triumph, not primarily on our behalf, but if need be at our cost.[1] Thus even suffering and defeat may become " means of grace," if they are accepted as the conditions under which we may subserve His purpose. This is the abandonment of a personal claim upon reality; it is acceptance of life and reconciliation to experience.

In principle, Paul was committed to the second position from his conversion. But, as I showed in my former lecture, some of the psychological attitudes properly belonging to his earlier *Weltanschauung* long survived. He still made personal claims on life for power, satisfaction and vindication. He still resented humiliation, suffering and defeat. But in the inward crisis represented by *II. Corinthians* he seems finally to have come to terms with life. It is no accident that from this time also we find in his epistles a revised eschatology, combined with a generous recognition of the natural goodness of men and of human institutions, a willingness to claim all sides of human life as potentially Christian, and a larger hope for mankind and the whole universe. Can it be doubted that this is a real development? If it is such, then the interpreter of Paul's thought should have regard to the changes which it underwent, and judge it finally not from stages which he outgrew, but in the light of its maturity.

[1] Cf. Rom. ix. 3.

A NEW GROUP OF ZENON PAPYRI.

BY C. C. EDGAR.

EX-SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ANTIQUITIES DEPARTMENT, CAIRO.

THE John Rylands Library contains a small but interesting collection of papyri from the famous archive of Zenon, which, at the kind invitation of Dr. Guppy, I have the pleasure of publishing here. Shortly after their acquisition they were transcribed by a scholar who was unsurpassed as an editor of such material, the late Professor Grenfell, but unfortunately he was prevented by illness from proceeding to the publication of them. In preparing this edition I have made free use of his transcripts, but have in every case re-examined the original text.

The documents are printed below in chronological order so far as they are dated or datable, the method of publication being the same as that employed in the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library*. To avoid confusion with the papyri published in the *Catalogue*, which are universally known as *P. Ryl.*, I suggest that the present series might be cited as *P. Ryl. Zen.*

No. 1. HEADING OF A LIST OF GOODS.—8·5 × 12·5 cm.—About 258 B.C.

The list, which has been written along the fibres in a chancery hand, apparently in a single column, no doubt dates from the early years of the correspondence.

Ἥκει σοι μετὰ τῶν
Ἀπολλωνίου ξενίων
παρὰ Ἀβδημοὺν Σιḍωνίου
ἃ ἀπέστειλεν Ζήνων
ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγ Ῥόδου,
ὧν τὰ τέλη καταβέβληκε
Ἀριστεύς.
]ιβ
- - - - - - - - - -

Verso

(2nd hand)]ων Νικάνορι ἐληλυθότων.

"There have arrived for you along with the gifts for Apollonius from Abdemoun the Sidonian the following articles which his brother Zenon sent from Rhodes, the taxes on which have been paid by Aristeus: . . ."

1. It is not clear whether *σοι* refers to Zenon or, as the docket suggests, to Nicanor, who was another member of Apollonius's suite (cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59012). Perhaps the goods were delivered to Nicanor in Zenon's absence.
3. *Σιδωνίου*: the δ is very doubtful, but no other word seems possible. Grenfell's copy has *σιτωνίου*, but the letter does not look like *τ*. *Ἀβδημούν* is the Phœnician name transliterated by Josephus as *Ἀβδήμων* and *Ἀβδήμουνος*.
4. *ἃ ἀπέστειλεν* might alternatively be taken as a qualification of *ξενίων*.
6-7. The *τέλη* were the Customs duties at the port of entry. Aristeus, who paid them, was an accountant in the household of Apollonius (see *P. Cairo Zen.* 59027, *P.S.I.* 411).
8. The list began here, *ιβ* being the number of some article, such as wine-jars.

No. 2. Letter from Amyntas (?) to Apollonius.—29 × 16 cm.—February 6 or 9, 257 B.C.

Amyntas, to whom I have ventured to ascribe this letter, was one of the chief lieutenants of Apollonius. Some of his letters have an individual character rather rare among Zenon's correspondents, and are spiced with uncomplimentary epithets, such as Καλλιάναξ ὁ κίναιδος, Λυσιμάχου τοῦ λημστοῦ. When Apollonius was travelling in the interior in 258-257 B.C., Amyntas had charge of the household in Alexandria, whence he wrote every few days, sometimes to his chief, but more often to his friend Zenon. A phrase in *P.S.I.* 340, *Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἔξω σκηνοῦντα καὶ γεγαμηκότα*, may perhaps refer to the house at Canopus mentioned in the present letter.

\- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

πυρῶν καὶ τὴν λιν[ο]καλάμην τὴν
νέαν, ἃ ἐκόμισεν ὁ βυβλιαφόρος,
εἰσηνέγκαμεν τῶι βασιλεῖ. γίνωσ-
κε δὲ καὶ τὴν Νικάνορος τοῦ πο-
5 *δαγρικοῦ οἰκίαν τὴν [[οὖσαν]] ἐν Κανώ-*
πωι οὖσαν ἐν ἡμῖν τα(λάντων) β καὶ (δραχμῶν) φ.
ἐὰν οὖν οἱ περὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν ῥαχᾶν
ἐνοχλῶσίν σε, π[υθο]ῦ διότι καὶ

τὴ[ν ἀ]ρχὴν ἡμεῖς π[ρό]τερον προσελη-
λύθαμεν καὶ ἀρραβῶνα δεδώκα-
μεν καὶ . . . τον . . ορ . [
μενον ἀπεστήσαμεν· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ
καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ προσ-
ελθόντος ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ Σωσιβίου
τοῦ ἐπιστολογραφοῦντος αὐτῶι
ἀπηγγείλαμεν.
ἔρρωσο. L κη Χοίαχ ιγ

Verso ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩΙ.

" . . . The gifts which the letter-carrier brought, consisting of . . . wheat and the new flax, we presented to the king. And you must know that the house of the gouty Nicanor at Canopus is ours for 2 talents 500 drachmae. So if the people of Antiochus the *rachas* importune you, take note that originally we came forward first and have paid earnest-money and repulsed . . . ; and of these same facts we notified him when he was here himself and his secretary Sosibius approached us on his behalf. Year 28, Choiach 13. (Addressed) To Apollonius."

1-3. These gifts were no doubt specimens of the produce of one of Apollonius's estates (cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59560, 59562).

4-6. A house worth 2 talents 500 drachmae, a price to which we have no parallel in Ptolemaic documents, must have been a luxurious one, and Nicanor probably belonged to the Alexandrian aristocracy.

6. Perhaps a deleted letter before β.

7. *Ἀντίοχον*: so I read the name, though Grenfell's copy gives *Ἀντίθεον*. The context indicates that this was a man of high position, and it is rather tempting to identify him with *Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κρής* who appears in *P. Hib.* 110 receiving correspondence by the royal postal service along with the king and the dioecetes; but Antiochus, like Nicanor, was a very common name. *Ῥαχᾶν* is a new word, perhaps a shortened form of *ῥαχιστήν*, "the braggart"; it is presumably Greek, whereas *ῥακά* or *ῥαχά* of the New Testament is supposed to be Aramaic. The Alexandrians were much addicted to giving nicknames to their distinguished fellow-citizens; see the remarks of Lumbroso in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* IV, p. 67.

8. *πυθοῦ* is very doubtful; there may have been another letter before *π*, and the last letter might be *ι*, e.g., *ἐπίστηι*.

17. The day of the month is either *ιγ* or *ις*.

No. 3. Letter from Addaeus to Zenon.—16 × 19 cm.—April, 257 B.C.

In three fragments, all of them in very bad condition; the right half is lost. Addaeus was an agent of Apollonius at Memphis, and the present letter has been an account of a sum of money spent by him on various kinds of business. It was received by Zenon at Mendes in the Delta, a town which Apollonius was then visiting on his tour of inspection.

Ἀδδαῖος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. γέγραφα[
κατὰ τὴν [π]αρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν . . . α . [
δραχμὰς π[ϵ]ντήκοντα. τ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ ἀ̣γ̣η̣[λω
. [. .] . . . . [. . .] . . απ[. . . .] . . . . . α̣ . [
(δραχμαὶ) η (ὀβολός), ὀψωνίο̣υ̣ . . ζ̣αιωι καὶ σ̣ . μ̣α[
(δραχμὴ) α (τριώβολον), ἐβάφ̣θ̣ησαν ἐρίων μναῖ δεξα . . . . . [
βάψαι τὴν ψιλοταπίδα (δραχμαὶ) γ, ἐργάτηι [
ἐλαίου μετρητὰς δύο (ὀκταχόους?), κεράμια ἐλαίου . [
ἔλαιον [. .] . . . [. . ἀγ]ο̣ραζομε̣ν̣ . . . . . [
ταῖς παιδίσκαις εἰς τὰ ἔρια κάλαθοι ιδ (δρ.) α [
μισθὸν ὑποζυγίοις τοῖς κατενένκασιν τὴ[ν
ναι εἰς τὴν ἀναδενδράδα (δρ.) ϵ.

Verso

L κη Δύστρου ι̣α̣, ἐν Μ̣[ένδητι]. ZHNΩNI.
Ἀδδαῖος τοῦ ἀνηλωμέν̣[ου]
ἀργυρίου λόγος. A

5. Perhaps *Δοξαίωι καὶ σώμασι*.
8. After *δύο* an abbreviation like *χ* over a doubtful *η*.
10. For these slave girls see *P.S.I.* 854 and *P. Cairo Zen.* 59142.
13. The day of the month might be *η*, *ια*, *ιδ*, or *κ*.
15. The large *α* is probably a number given to the letter by the recipient (see *P. Cairo Zen.* 59330).

No. 4. Letter from Numenius to Zenon.—13·5 × 15 cm.—April 10, 257 B.C.

This letter, of which only the left end is in the Rylands collection, the other parts being in Florence and Cairo, has already been published as *P. Cairo Zen.* 59541, but I reprint it here for the sake of completeness with a few corrections made on

a revision of the original. It dates from the time when Zenon was travelling with Apollonius in the Delta, and it was written by a subordinate who wishes to know when they will return to Memphis. But it took 13 days to reach Zenon, and he was actually in Memphis before he received it.

Νουμήνιος Ζ[ήν]ωνι χαίρειν. [πα]ρὰ τὸ γεγραφέ[ναι ἡ]μῖν
'Απολλώνιον συνα[ντῆσαι αὐτῶι]
εἰς Μέμφιν τῇ[ι] β̄ ἠναγκά[σμε]θα περι[ο]δεύ[ειν] τὸν νομὸν
οὐθενὶ κόσμωι, ὅπ[ως ὅ τι τάχος]
ἕτοιμοι ὦμεν τὸν ἀνάπλ[ουν] ποιεῖσθαι. καλ[ῶς] ἂν οὖν
ποιήσαις γράψα[ς ἡμῖν πόσας]
ἔτι ἡμέρας μενεῖ ἐν τῶι Μ[ενδ]ησίωι καὶ πότε [τὸν] ἀνάπλουν
εἰς Μέμφιν [ποιήσεται],
εὐθέως δὲ καὶ τὰ γενέθλ[ι]α τοῦ [βα]σιλέως ποῦ δι[έγν]ωκεν
ἄγειν καὶ τίνι ἡ[μέραι ὡς τῶν]
Αἰγυπτίων ἡ θυσία ἔσται, ὅ[πως] εἰδῶμεν.
ἔρρωσο. L κθ Μεχὶρ ιζ.

Verso

Νουμήνιος περὶ συναντήσεως τῆς ΖΗΝΩ[ΝΙ].
εἰς Μέμφιν. L κη Δύστρου κ,
ἐμ Μέμφει.

" Numenius to Zenon greeting. Owing to Apollonius having written to me to meet him at Memphis on the 2nd I have been obliged to travel round the nome without any method, in order that I might be ready to sail up immediately. Please then write to me how many more days he is going to remain in the Mendesian nome and when he will sail up to Memphis, and tell me also directly where he has decided to celebrate the king's birthday and on what day in the Egyptian calendar the sacrifice will take place, in order that I may know. Farewell. Year 29, Mecheir 17. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Numenius about meeting at Memphis. Year 28, Dystrus 20, in Memphis."

5. The king's birthday fell sometime in the Macedonian month of Dystrus. But a Macedonian date was of little use to Numenius, who naturally reckoned by the more convenient Egyptian calendar.

7. It will be noted that Numenius writes " year 29 " and Zenon " year 28." The former was the financial year beginning on the 1st of Mecheir, the latter the regnal year beginning a little later about the end of Dystrus.

No. 5. Letter from Criton to Zenon.—11·5 × 20·5 cm.—Date of reception: about July 11, 257 B.C.

Criton the στολάρχης, commander of Apollonius's little fleet, requests his colleague Zenon, who was at present staying in Alexandria, to have the θαλαμηγός of Petechon made ready for the use of a certain Plistarchus. As θαλαμηγός usually means a river-boat, and as the captain was an Egyptian, it is probable that Plistarchus was making an inland voyage, though the name of his destination is lost.

Κρίτων Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. συντέταχεν Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν [θαλαμηγὸν τὴν Πετε-]
χῶντος δοῦναι Πλειστάρχωι ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῆι εἰς .[. . . . . καλῶς]
οὖν ποιήσεις δούς τινα αὐλαίαν ὅπως παράβλημα ἔχηι. ὑ[πάρχουσιν δὲ νῦν]
ναῦται δ. προσμισθώσασθαι οὖν σύνταξον Πετεχῶντι ἄλλους δ [ὥστε γενέσθαι πάν-]
5 τας η̄, καὶ δὸς τοῖς η ἑκάστωι σὺν τῶι σίτωι εἰς τὸν [πλοῦν ὀψώνιον]
χαλκ[ο]ῦ (δραχμὰς) θ, καὶ συναπόστειλον αὐτὴν ἐν τάχει. ἔρρωσο. L [κθ
λαβὲ δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τ[ῶν ναυτῶν].

Verso

Κρίτων περὶ θαλαμηγοῦ ἵνα ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
δοθῆι Πλειστάρχωι καὶ ναυτῶν.
10 L κθ Δαισίου ι, ἐν Ἀλεξαν(δρείαι).

"Criton to Zenon greeting. Apollonius has ordered the barge of Petechon to be given to Plistarchus in order that he may betake himself to . . . Please therefore give him some awning to provide him with a screen round the side. There are at present 4 sailors on board; so order Petechon to engage 4 more, making 8 in all; and give each of the 8 along with his corn 9 drachmae in copper as wages for the voyage. And dispatch the barge in haste. Farewell. Year 29, . . . (Postcript) And also take the descriptions of the sailors. (Addressed) To Zenon.

(Docketed) Criton about the barge, to have it given to Plistarchus, and about the sailors. Year 29, Daesius 10, in Alexandria."

1. This may be the *θαλαμηγός* mentioned in *P.S.I.* 332.
2. The letter before the lacuna begins with an upright stroke.
4. Or perhaps *ναύ]τας*.
5. *εἰς τὸν [μῆνα* is also possible, though the usual phrase is *τοῦ μηνός* unless the month is specified. The last word might also be *πρόδομα*.
7. The δ of δέ perhaps written over a κ. The "descriptions" were identification marks.

No. 6. Letter from Maron to Zenon.—12 × 17 cm.—Date of reception: about July 14, 257 B.C.

Maron was an employee of Apollonius at Philadelphia both before and after Zenon had taken charge of the estate there. The present letter was evidently a request for an increase of salary. It begins in a large, ligatured hand, which gradually becomes smaller and more cursive. The break on the right is quite straight, so probably the other half of the papyrus is in existence somewhere.

Μάρων Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. καλῶ[ς
φαίνεται, εἰς τὸ ὀψώνιον ἔτι (δραχμὰς) β (τριώβολον) ὥστε π . [
μοι εἰς τά τε ἄλετρα καὶ ὕδωρ ἀγοράζειν [
σοὶ δ' ὡς φαίνεται οὕτω ποίει. πολλοὶ δὲ διατρίβου[σι
5 φυλακίαι λαμβάνουσι ὀψώνιον (δραχμὰς) ιε καὶ πυρῶν ἀρτάβας [

Verso

Μάρων περὶ τοῦ ὀψωνίου. ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
L κθ Δαισίου ιδ,
ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι.

"Maron to Zenon greeting. Please assign me, if you think fit, 2½ more drachmae for my salary . . . to provide for the cost of grinding and for buying water. . . . But do just as you think right yourself. Many persons are occupied . . . those engaged in guarding receive a salary of 15 drachmae and . . . artabs of wheat. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Maron about his salary. Year 29, Daesius 14, in Alexandria."

1. E.g., *καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις προσθείς μοι, εἴ σοι φαίνεται.*
2. He means of course his monthly salary.
3. Though Grenfell read *ἄλευρα*, I think that *ἄλετρα*, another form of *ἄλεστρα*, is quite certain. The omission of *τό* before *ὕδωρ ἀγοράζειν* is nothing unusual. The water of which Maron speaks was no doubt water for household use brought round by carriers in goatskins (cf. *P.S.I.* 528, 11-12).

No. 7. Letter from Apollonius to Zenon.—12 × 31·5 cm.—October 3, 256 B.C.

A brief note of approval from the diœcetes, the king's minister of finance. As Zenon was now stationed at Philadelphia, and as the letter was written on the 13th of Mesore and received on the 14th, Apollonius must have been staying in the neighbourhood.

'Απολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὀρθῶς
ἐποίησας ἀποστείλας τὸν ἐρέβινθον
εἰς Μέμφιν.
ἔρρωσο. L λ Λωίου ις Μεσορὴ ιγ.

Verso

5 L λ Λωίου ιδ Μεσορὴ ιδ. ZHNΩNI.
'Απολλώνιος ἐρεβίνθου.

"Apollonius to Zenon greeting. You did right to send the chickpeas to Memphis. Farewell. Year 30, Louis 16, Mesore 13. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Year 30, Louis 14, Mesore 14. Apollonius about the chickpeas."

5. *Λωίου ιδ* ought to be *ιζ*, but Zenon had already lost touch with the Macedonian calendar.

No. 8 Letter from Etearchus to Zenon.—24 × 10 cm.—July-August, 251 B.C.

Written in a large hand along the fibres; a junction of two sheets runs down the middle. The writer appears from other documents to have been a nomarch, and it is not clear in what relation he stood to Zenon; but certainly the two men worked in close contact.

Ἐτέαρχος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ
τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεῖ̣τ̣[αι],
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ
παρόντος οὐ χρείαν
ἔχομεν, καλῶς ποι-
ήσεις διαχώσας
ἵνα τά τ̣ε̣ ἔργα συν-
τελεσθῆι καὶ τὰ
ἄμμινα ἀνακαθαρ-
θῆι.
ἔρρωσο. L λε Παῦνι [.]

Verso ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.

"Etearchus to Zenon greeting. As the water has been released, and as we have no need of it at present, please dam up the outlet in order that the works may be completed and the outcrops of sand cleared away. Farewell. Year 35, Pauni. (Addressed) To Zenon."

8-11. The work of reclamation was evidently being carried on near Philadelphia, and quite probably on the estate of Apollonius.

No. 9. Letter from Bubalus to Zenon.—33·5 × 11 cm.—August 16, 251 B.C.

Written in a large hand. Bubalus, who was an agent of Apollonius, appears to have been stationed somewhere in the Memphite nome (cf. *P.S.I.* 354), though in an earlier document we find him delivering a list of goods imported through Pelusium to Alexandria (*P. Cairo Zen.* 59012). The subject of the present letter is the provisioning of the cavalrymen who were going down from their holdings to take part in the great festival called the Penteteris or Ptolemaieia. Though not published before in full, it has often been referred to and quoted, especially by Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 121, and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV, pt. 2, p. 604. Its chief interest is that it helps to determine the chronology of the festival.

Βούβαλος Ζήνω-
νι χαίρειν. ἔγρα-
ψάς μοι ἀξιῶσαι
Φανίαν τὸν γραμ-
5 ματέα τῶν ἱππέ-
ων παρασχεῖν
ἀγορὰν ἐν Μεία[ι]
τοῖς καταβαίνουσ[ιν]
ἱππεῦσιν εἰς τὴν
10 πενθετηρίδα. γίνω-
σκε οὖν παρὼν Λέ-
ων ἔφη ἐξειληφέναι
τινὰ τὴν μαγιρι-
κὴν καὶ τάσσεσθαι
15 εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν
τὸν φόρον, ὃς παρέξεται
ἀγοράν, ὡσαύτως δὲ
καὶ οἱ ἐλαιοκάπηλοι
οἱ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐξει-
20 ληφότες παρέξουσιν
ἔλαιον, ὥστε μηθὲν
ἐνλιπεῖν. τοὺς μέν-
τοι σταθμοὺς παρε-
δείκνυον Μελίτωνι
25 καὶ τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ.
γέγραφα οὖν σοι ἵνα
εἰδῆις.
ἔρρωσο. L λε Παῦνι κς

Verso [ZHNCONI]
(2nd hand, in reverse direction.)
30 ἔρσενος σὺν σάγμασι (δραχ-
μαὶ) κη
καὶ σάγματα
ἄλλου (δραχμαὶ) κ
ἄλλου (δραχμαὶ) ιβ
θηλείας (δρ.) κ, (γίνονται) π
35 ἄλλης (δρ.) [κ] λβ
(γίνονται) ριβ

"Bubalus to Zenon greeting. You wrote to me to request Phanias the secretary of the cavalrymen to provide supplies at Meia for the cavalrymen who are going down to the Penteteris. You must know then that Leon who has been here said that a certain person has taken up the meat contract, paying the rent to the Treasury, and he will provide supplies; likewise also the oil-dealers who have contracted for the sale in retail will provide oil; so that nothing will be lacking. As for the billets, I have in fact been pointing them out to Meliton and his companions. I have therefore written to let you know. Farewell. Year 35, Pauni 26. (Addressed) To Zenon.

"(Account, in another hand.) For a male donkey with saddle-bags 28 drachmae; inclusive of saddle-bags, for another male 20 drachmae, for another 12 drachmae, for a female 20 dr., total 80; for another female 32 dr. Total 112."

4. Phanias, whose name appears in many contemporary documents, was an important official having economic and administrative authority over the cavalry settlers in various nomes.

7. A village in the Memphite nome.
11. An agent of the Memphite œconome (see *P.S.I.* 372).
12-16. The context shows that Rostovtzeff was right in taking this to be a contract with government for the right of dealing in meat in a certain locality rather than the farming of a tax on butchers. Compare Wilcken's remarks in *Archiv* VIII, p. 79.
18. For the place of these retailers in the machinery of the great oil monopoly see *Revenue Laws*, cols. 47-48.
28. Grenfell's copy has $\overline{\kappa\delta}$, as given by Ernst Meyer and Beloch, but $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ is almost certain.
29. The address has been deleted when the verso was used for the note about the donkeys, which has no connexion with the letter.

No. 10. Letter from Pataecion to Zenon.—16 × 34 cm.—May 23, 250 B.C.

An amusing instance of how the subordinates of a great official might combine to circumvent a troublesome petitioner. At the time when the letter was written Zenon must have been paying a visit to Apollonius (see note on l. 9).

[Παταικίων] Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. προσεβαλόμεθα εἰς τὸ Ἀριστοδήμου ὄνομα
οἰκίαν Σοκέως τοῦ Νεχαύιος μαχίμου ἐν Αὐήρει, ἀκηκόαμεν δὲ καταπεπλευ-
κέναι ὅπως ἔντευξιν ἐμβάλη[ι Ἀπ]ολλωνίωι περὶ ἡμῶν, παραλιπὼν τόν
τε ἀποδόμενον καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα, οἰόμενος ἡμᾶς διασείσιν ἐὰν
Ἀπολλωνίωι ἐντύχηι. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, εἴ σοι εὔκαιρόν ἐστιν καὶ ἂν ἐν δυ-
νατῶι ἦι, μετελθεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅπως μὴ καταγινωσκώμεθα ὑπὸ
τῶν λοιπῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι ἐρμηνεῖ περὶ τούτων,
ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖν<ος> κακώσηι αὐτὸν καθὸ δύναται.
ἔρρωσο. L λς Φαρμοῦθι ᾱ.

Verso
ZHNΩNI. τῶι ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας.

" Pataecion to Zenon greeting. I assigned to the possession of Aristodemus a house of Sokeus son of Nechauis, a native soldier, in Aueris, and I have heard that he has sailed down to present a petition to Apollonius about me, ignoring both the seller and the buyer, with the idea that he will discomfit me if he appeals to Apollonius. If therefore you have an opportunity and if it be practicable, will you please take action against the fellow, in order that I may not be discredited by the rest of them. I have written also to Apollonius the interpreter requesting him also to do the man as much damage as he can. Farewell. Year 36, Pharmouthi 1. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed by the sender.) The Philadelphian."

1. Pataecion, whose name has been deleted (I do not know why), was one of Zenon's agents. Apparently he had assigned to Aristodemus as the result of an auction (for the use of *προσεβαλόμεθα* in this sense cf. *U.P.Z.*, p. 534, and *P. Cairo Zen.* 59354, 22) a house which was said to be that of Sokeus but which had been sold by a third party, *τὸν ἀποδόμενον*. The situation is not quite clear, but one possibility is that the seller was a creditor recovering a loan by distraint, while Pataecion was acting as a *πράκτωρ*. The question at issue seems to be whether he had a right to dispose of the house (cf. *P. Tebt.* 5, 231 ff.)
2. *Αὐήρει*: a village in the *μερίς* of Heraclides and in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais Hormu, forming part of the *τῶν ἔξω τόπων* (cf. *Enteuxeis*, p. 216). The name may have survived in the modern Hawara.
6. *μετελθεῖν* means that Zenon was to prejudice Apollonius against the complainant.
7. This interpreter is mentioned again in *P. Cairo Zen.* 59065 and *P.S.I.* 409. He might easily have used his position to do an ill turn to a native petitioner.
9. The date is interesting. Reckoned by the regnal year it would be May 22, 249 B.C., but reckoned by the financial year May 23, 250 B.C. As we know from *P. Cairo Zen.* 59299-301 that Zenon had gone down to Alexandria at the latter time, there is a strong probability that the date is a financial one. Indeed it seems to me not unlikely that the financial year was the one generally used for dating by the Greeks in the *χώρα*. Cf. *P. Mich. Zen.*, p. 55.
10. The docket, which is on the fold next to that on which the address was written, was added by Pataecion to identify the addressee.

No. 11. ACCOUNT OF WINE.—25 × 10 cm.—July 16, 250. B.C.

L λς Παχὼνς $\overline{κε}$
ὄξους τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Σωστρά-
του ἐκμετρηθέντος Ὥρωι

ἀπὸ κερ(αμίων) ξβ
Θηβαίων ι
ἡμικαδίων ς
καὶ ἐν ἄλλωι ταμιήωι κερ(άμια) ιζ
ἡμικάδια ιθ
/ κεράμια πθ
ἡμικάδια κε
τούτων ῥυάδες κερ(άμια) β
λοιπὰ κερ(άμια) πζ
ἡμικάδια κε
ἃ ἐκμετρηθέντα ἐξέβη
ἐν κεραμίοις πβ
ἐν οἷ[ς] μετρηταὶ ''Αρσινόης (ἑξάχοοι)′ οη
/ 'Αττικοὶ μετρηταὶ (δωδεκάχοοι) νηL
τρυγίου κερ(άμια) η
καὶ ὑπαρχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς
[Μέμ]φιν μετρηθέντος
ὄξους τρυγὸς κερ(άμια) δ
ὥστ' εἶναι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
ἐν ταμιήοι<ς> τρυγὸς κερ(άμια) ιβ
καὶ τὰ εὑρεθέντα ὑπο-
ζ<έ>οντα κερ(άμια) γ

"Year 36, Pachons 25. Account of the sour wine which was measured out to Horus on the estate of Sostratus: contents of 62 jars, 10 Theban jars, 6 half-jars; and in another storehouse 17 jars, 19 half-jars; total 89 jars, 25 half-jars; deduct as produce of diseased grapes 2 jars, remainder 87 jars, 25 half-jars. These when measured out came to 82 jars containing 78 six-chous metretae of Arsinoe, equal to 58½ twelve-chous Attic metretae; 8 jars of lees; and from the sour wine measured out for Memphis there were left 4 jars of lees, so that the amount of lees now in the storehouses is 12 jars; and 3 jars which were found to be fermenting."

2. Sostratus was a friend of Zenon and joint owner with him of a large vineyard.
5. *Θηβαίων* is written over a deleted word.
16. *'Αρσινόης*: perhaps the standard measure kept in the temple of the goddess Arsinoe, like the artaba called *'Ερμοῦ*. It cannot be the measure used in

the ἀπόμοιρα of Arsinoe, which contained 8 choes. There is perhaps a reference to the Ἀρσινοικὸς μετρητής in *P. Cairo Zen.* 59271.

17. This line is interpolated. It appears from the equation that 1 Ptolemaic chous = 1½ Attic choes, which, so far as I know, is a new metrological datum.

19. Read ὑπῆρχεν rather than ὑπάρχει.

21-22. In the left margin opposite these lines are the figures λθ (= ½ of οη in l. 16) and below, ιθ∠ (= ½ of λθ).

24-25. Cf. *B.G.U.* 1549, where ἀποζέσαντα must surely mean "after fermentation."

No. 12. Letter from Deinon to Zenon.—17 × 13 cm.—About December 31, 250 B.C.

Only the right side of this letter is in the Rylands collection, but the left side has been identified among the Zenon papyri in the British Museum (Inventory 2678) and with the kind permission of Mr. Bell I print the two fragments together. It is written in a large chancery hand. We possess another letter of the same correspondent, *P.S.I.* 376 + *P. Cairo Zen.* 59415, and he is no doubt also the author of *P. Hib.* 44. He is mentioned again in *P.S.I.* 858 (Δείνωνι ἐμ Μέμφει) and in *P. Mich. Zen.* 100. That the τῶν περὶ Δείνωνα of *P. Cairo Zen.* 59001 refers to the same man is not impossible, though that text is 24 years older. His title is nowhere given, but he was evidently a high official.

Δε‹ί›νων Ζή[νωνι χαίρειν]. ἀκούω σε θᾶσσον τοῦ
δέοντος ἐξε[λθόντα .....]πάσαι. ἔδει μὲν οὖν σε
μὴ ἐνοχληθῆ[ναι, ... πρ]ὸς ἡμᾶς γράψαι ὅπως
εἴδημεν· προσεδ[εχόμεθα γάρ σ]ε αἰεὶ παρέσεσθαι.
καλῶς οὖν ποιή[σεις τήν τε ταχ]ίστην ἀναλαμβάνων
καὶ προσέχων τ[ὸν νοῦν ἵνα βεβ]αιότερον ἰσχύσηις.
γράφε δὲ καὶ ἐά[ν τινος τῶν παρ' ἡ]μῖν χρείαν ἔχηις·
ὅτι γὰρ ἡδέως π[οιήσομεν οὐκ οἶμαί σε ἀγ]νοεῖν.
ἔρρωσο. L λς Ὑπερβε(ρεταίου) κδ.

"Deinon to Zenon greeting. I hear that having gone out sooner than you ought you have had a relapse. Now you ought not to have troubled but simply written to us to let us know; for we were expecting you to come at any moment. So please

try to recover as fast as possible and take care that your health is soundly established. And write if ever you have need of anything here; for I am sure you know that we will gladly do your bidding. Farewell. Year 36, Hyperberetaeus 24."

2. *ὑποτρο]πάσαι* would be of the right length, but the only known forms are *ὑποτροπασθῆναι* and *ὑποτροπιάσαι*.
4. Probably *εἴδημεν* = *ᾔδειμεν* (cf. *εἴδην* in *P. Cairo Zen.* 59643, 15) and is not to be corrected to *εἰδή<σω>μεν* or *εἰδ<εί>ημεν*. The construction is a rarity in texts of this kind, but Deinon writes a rather superior style.
8. The end of this line is written in much smaller characters, so that the suggested supplement is probably not too long.

No. 13. Letter to Zenon.—12 × 24 cm.—February, 249 B.C.

The writer appends a receipt from Cephalon for 30 drachmae for horticultural work. The receipt is addressed to Zenon, though the original was apparently delivered to his correspondent. Written in a large clear hand.

[. . . . .]ος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὑπογέγραφά σοι τῆς παρ[ὰ Κεφάλωνος]
[ἐπιστο]λῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον. ἔρρωσο. L λς Χοία[χ . .]
[Κεφά]λων [[. . .]] Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ Σπα[
[εἰς] τὸν σκαφητὸν καὶ εἰς τομὴν καὶ εἰς φυτη[κομίαν]
5 [δρα]χμὰς τριάκοντα. ἔρρωσο. L λς Χοία[χ . .]

Verso

[L λς Χοία]χ ϗ ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
[ἀντίγραφον] ἐπ(ιστολῆς) Κεφάλωνος.

". . . to Zenon greeting. I have appended for you a copy of the letter from Cephalon. Farewell. Year 36, Choiach . . .

"Cephalon to Zenon greeting. I have received from Spa . . . for hoeing and cutting and dressing the trees thirty drachmae. Farewell. Year 36, Choiach . . . (Addressed) to Zenon. (Docketed) Year 36, Choiach 20. Copy of a letter of Cephalon."

1. [*Ἀνδρόνικ*]ος is a possible supplement, for a man of that name appears as a vine-dresser in several of Zenon's accounts.
3. Or possibly *παρ' Ἄσπα*[.
6. The *κ* seems to be written over *ια*.

No. 14. Letter from Dioscurides to Zenon.—13 × 7·5 cm.—Undated.

This short letter, which is written along the fibres, refers to building operations at Philadelphia. Dioscurides was an agent whom Zenon employed on various kinds of work.

Διοσκουρίδης Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. παρακεκο-
μίκαμεν γωνιείους
παρὰ Στοτοήτιος
5 τοῦ λατόμου
ἕως λ̄ τοῦ Μεχεὶρ
ωκ. ἔρρωσο.

Verso ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.

"Dioscurides to Zenon greeting. Up to the 30th of Mecheir we have transported 820 corner-stones delivered by Stotoetis the quarryman. Farewell. (Addressed) to Zenon."

3. Understand λίθους. Cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59745, 54.

No. 15. Letter from Philinus to Zenon.—35·5 × 11 cm.—Undated.

Philinus was a man of property who appears to have been in very close relationship with Zenon. The two corresponded frequently, chiefly about services which one was doing for the other. For further details and surmises about his position see Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 175. We do not know where he resided, but it cannot have been far from Philadelphia; the word καταποστείλας in l. 12 suggests a locality either in the north of the Fayum or in the Memphite nome.

The present letter is written in the large, untidy hand characteristic of Philinus (see *P. Cairo Zen.* III, pl. 25).

Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. καθότι ἔγρα-
ψας περὶ Ζήνωνος
ἐνέτυχον [Ἀ]φθο-
νήτωι καὶ διοικη-
θήσεται ὥσπερ
γράφεις. καλῶς δὲ
ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸ ὑ-
πόμνημα ὅσα εἰς
τὴν δοχὴν ἕτοι-
μα ποιησάμενος
καὶ καταποστεί-
λας εἰς τὴν ῑ τοῦ
Χοίαχ ἢ ιβ. καὶ σὺ
δὲ εὖ ποιήσεις παρα-
γενόμενος μετὰ
τῶν ἀδελφῶν· θύω
γὰρ ὑπέρ τε ἐμοῦ
καὶ σοῦ. κατασκεύ-
ασον δὲ καὶ πίνα-
κας κε, τὸ ἀνὰ
μέσον πῆ(χυν) ᾱ δα(κτύ-
λους) η̄
μέγαν, ἵνα δοθῆι
τοῖς πίνουσι καθό-
τι τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις.
ἀπέστα<λ>κα δέ σοι
καὶ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ
πίνακος· ὧδε μὲν
γὰρ οὔ φασι δυνήσε-
σθαι τηλικούτους ποι-
ῆσαι, νυνὶ δὲ ἀναγκάζον-
ται δύο διδόναι. ἔρρωσο.

Verso ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.

"Philinus to Zenon greeting. In accordance with what you wrote about Zenon I interviewed Aphthonetus and it will be arranged as you write. Be good enough to make ready all the things required for the reception according to the memorandum and to send them down by the 10th of Choiach or the 12th. And please come yourself along with your brothers; for I am sacrificing both on my behalf and on yours. Make also 25 plates, each of them 1 cubit 8 fingerbreadths in diameter, to be given to the banqueters as at the festival of Hermes. I have sent you the measurement of the plates, for they say here that they will not be able to make them of such a size, though at present they are being compelled to supply a couple. Farewell. (Addressed) to Zenon."

3. Zenon's friend Panacestor had a son called Zenon (*P. Cairo Zen.* 59244), who may possibly be the person spoken of.

4. Aphthonetus was a strategus of high rank, exercising authority in the Arsinoite nome, and possibly in other nomes as well.

10. The τ of τήν is written over an σ. The word δοχή might mean the entertainment of the guests in general or the reception of a distinguished visitor.

From an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum Rostovtzeff has conjectured that on one occasion Philinus gave a banquet to the king, but the evidence is rather meagre.

13. The date suggests that, if the papyrus belongs to the reign of Euergetes, the festivity might have had some connexion with the king's birthday (cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59358).

31. The words are ambiguous, and I do not know exactly what Philinus meant. δύο might be either the object (plates) or the subject (persons).

No. 16. Petition to Zenon from Patumis.—17·5 × 12·5 cm.—Undated.

The petitioner, who was an *ἰσιονόμος*, writes about certain cattle which he had delivered to Zenon as a *παρακαταθήκη*. They nominally belonged to Isis and Osiris, but actually he used them as his own property. From the emphasis which Patumis lays on Zenon's protection and from his offer of a cow I suspect that he had been in trouble, perhaps in prison, and that the *παρακαταθήκη* was an expedient, advantageous to both parties, for the purpose of safeguarding the cattle. It appears from *P. Cairo Zen.* 59491 that on one occasion Patumis was brought before Zenon on a charge of robbery, but we are not told of the sequel.

[Ζήνωνι χαίρε]ιν Πατῦμις Ἀραπάκτιος ἰσιονό-
[μος. ἐπίστη]ι διότι παρακαταθήκην δέδω-
[κα τὰς βο]ῦς τῆς Ἴσεως καὶ Ὀσίρεως. καλῶς οὖν
[ποιήσει]ς, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, ἣν ἄν σοι δοκῇ βοῦς
5 [ἐκ τούτ]ων λαβεῖν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀποδοῦναι
[ὅπως ἃ]ν ἔχω τὸμ βίον ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἐσκέπασες
[ἡμᾶς κ]αὶ ἀρχῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς
[μὴ σκε]πάσῃ ἀλλ' ἢ σὺ οὕνεκεν τῆς Ἴσεως.
[οὐδενὶ γ]ὰρ ἂν ἐπίστευσα ἀλλ' ἢ σοὶ ἵνα σκεπά-
10 [σῃς ἡμᾶ]ς.

εὐτύχει.

"To Zenon greeting from Patumis, son of Harapaktis, steward of Isis. You know that I have given to you as a deposit the cows of Isis and Osiris. Be good enough therefore, if you too agree, to take whichever one of them you please and give me back the rest in order that I may gain my living from them. You protected us in the beginning, and now again no one but

you will protect us, for the sake of Isis. For I would not have put trust in anyone but you to protect us. May you prosper."

2. It is not clear whether the *παρακαταθήκη* in this case was a legal deposit, like *P. Grenf.* II, 17, or an informal trust. But Patumis seems to request the return of the cattle as a favour rather than a right.
4. Read *βοῦν*.
7 It is just possible, but not probable, that the scribe has tried to correct *ἀρχῆς* to *ἀρχήν*; *ἐ]πὶ ἀρχῆς* cannot be read.
9. *ἵνα σκεπάσῃς* = *σκεπάσαι*; so in one of the unpublished fragments in Cairo *ὡμολόγηκας εἶνα παραγένῃ*.

No. 17. Petition to Zenon.—10·5 × 14 cm.—Undated.

The left end of this text has been published as *P. Cairo Zen.* 59395. The new fragment, comprising the right end, makes the meaning a little clearer, but the missing part cannot be restored without considerable risk of misrepresenting the sense. It appears that the petitioner had been accused of complicity in a robbery, brought before a nomarch in Crocodilopolis, and detained there. He therefore asks Zenon, with whom he had apparently some engagement, to procure his release and so allow him to fulfil his obligations.

Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Ἀπο[- - -]ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακιτῶν
τῶν ἐγ Κερκεσούχοις. λείας γὰ[ρ - - -]τόποις ἀνήγαγόμ με
βίαι εἰς Κροκοδίλων
πόλιν ἐπὶ Τιμόθεον τὸν νομά[ρχην - - - οὐ]κ ἀπελύθην. δέομαι
οὖν σου, ἐπειδὴ
βίαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤχ[θη]ν καὶ ὑβρ[ίσθην - - -]μοι τῆς κώμης
5 *τὴμ φυ[τείαν] ὑπαρ[χ . .] εμ[- - -]α ὥστε δύνασθαί σοι τὰ*
δίκαια ποεῖν.
θέλω δέ σοι καὶ ἐμαυτ[. . .] α[- - -]ι παρέχεσθαι ὥστε σε
μηθὲν ἐγκαλεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τ[- - -]αρήσωμαι. καὶ συγγράψασθαί
σοι
βούλομαι περὶ τούτων καὶ σ[- - -]αί σοι τοὺς ἀδελφούς.
εὐτύχει.

2. Perhaps *λείας γὰ[ρ εὑρεθείσης ἐν τοῖς] τόποις*.
4. After *κώμης* the surface is broken, but there is no trace of any letter.
5. *τὴμ φυ[τείαν] ὑπάρ[χειν]* is possible, though neither supplement is certain.
6. E.g. *καὶ ἐμαυτ[ὸν] ἀ[νέγκλητον ἐν τῆι χρεία]ι παρέχεσθαι*.
7. *χρήσωμαι* is not impossible.

No. 18. Account of Crops.—15·5 × 9·5 cm.—Undated.

Written along the fibres. The Artemidorus mentioned here was a physician in the service of Apollonius. He lived in Alexandria, accompanying his master on many of his tours and missions, but he had also a house and an allotment at Philadelphia, which his friend Zenon looked after in his absence.

Παχὼνς παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου
ἰατροῦ
ἰθ μήκωνος μελαί(νης) ιαL δ΄
κ Μηδικοῦ πυ(ροῦ) ιϛL
Παῦνι ζ̄ ὀλύρ(ας) ρα
ιζ σησάμου κα
κγ σησάμ(ου) λγ
/ πυρ(οῦ) ιϛL
ὀλύρ(ας) ρα
σησάμου νδ
μήκωνος ⟨μελαί(νης)΄ ιαL δ΄

Verso τῶν Ἀρτεμιδώρου
γενημάτων.

"Pachons, from Artemidorus the physician: 19th, of black poppy seed 11¾ artabs; 20th, of Median wheat 16½. Pauni 7th, of olyra 101; 17th, of sesame 33. Total: 16½ artabs of wheat, 101 of olyra, 54 of sesame, 11¾ of black poppy seed. (Endorsed) List of the crops of Artemidorus."

2. ἰατροῦ is interpolated.

4. Wheat grown from seed originally imported from Media (cf. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59292, 6).

ASPECTS OF SUMERIAN CIVILISATION AS EVIDENCED ON TABLETS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By The Reverend T. FISH, Ph.D. (Cantab.).

I. ABOUT BUILDING IN UR III.

A YEAR ago there was published a Catalogue of the Sumerian tablets which belong to the John Rylands Library. The primary purpose of the Librarian and the author was to put the material, about 900 tablets, at the disposal of students of Sumerian language and civilisation. In accordance with that admittedly narrow purpose, the volume contained nothing more than hand copies of the more important tablets and a transliteration of the remainder, with indices of names, of deities, persons and places.

It has since been suggested that readers of the Bulletin would like to know what the tablets say. To meet this, at least in part, it is proposed to publish in the Bulletin occasional articles based on the Rylands material. The method will be to select those tablets which are concerned exclusively with, or which contain references to some aspect of Sumerian life and custom and by co-ordination of that material with data scattered in other tablets of the same kind and date to present a substantially complete picture of that aspect or custom, as far as our tablets reveal it.

We may recall that the Rylands collection is typical of the written material of the Third Dynasty of Ur, *circa* 2300 B.C., discovered in the Sumerian towns of Lagash, Nippur, Adab, Umma and Drehem; all in the south extreme of the Tigris and Euphrates valley either on the Euphrates or on some river or canal leading from it. It is not a religious literature; it is a business literature: records of income, of expenditure, of work done on canal, in field or in temple. Actually no specially religious

piece from this area, dating from the hundred and eight years of the Third Dynasty of Ur, has ever been published. The contemporary records contain many references to local worship, temple ministers and religious calendar, as varied as at any time in the history of Babylon and Assyria, but never a word of the hymns sung or prayers said at feast or ceremony. So many tablets of that age have been found in towns scattered across Sumer that one can safely assert that purely religious literature was not written down at this date. The earliest religious texts proper belong to the age immediately succeeding Ur III. During Ur III the scribes' business was to record the daily labour necessary to life in that land of river and desert and swamp.

Life in the third millennium B.C. in Sumer was not the life of primitives. Written remains as well as relics found, e.g. at Ur, have proved that. But though not primitive yet it was primary, i.e. it was concerned chiefly with the production and distribution of primary things, the essentials of living: food, clothing, and shelter. The matter of every tablet of the sort contained in the Rylands collection is referable to one or other of these primaries. With this difference as between town and town: the tablets from Lagash and from Umma record a diversified business and cover most if not all departments of the external life of the people; whereas the tablets from Drehem contain hardly anything about agriculture, which occupies so much of the Umma material, but are almost exclusively concerned with animals, as though Drehem were, as has been suggested, nothing more than a huge animal park or preserve on which animals were born, reared and eventually distributed to serve the needs of private persons and of worship in local or national temples. But in every town of which we have contemporary record the main business entered up in the records was in primaries.

The Land of Sumer whence these tablets derive is land recovered from the waters of the Persian Gulf. The rivers Euphrates and Tigris, reinforced by rivers from Persia, deposit their burden of silt into the nearest waters of the Gulf and forming a bar attack, invade and advance leaving behind mud flats, marshes and lagoons. From land of such physical

nature the inhabitants had to derive the raw materials of life: stuff for food, for clothing, for shelter. In this short article we shall set out such information contained in the Rylands collection as bears on shelter, building; with relevant references to material of the same date published elsewhere.

The Sumerians built with clay of which there was an abundance to hand. Some of their buildings have survived to this day and have been uncovered by excavation. They may be studied in detail in the reports of expeditions, especially of those conducted by Mr. Woolley who has directed the ten years' excavations at Ur. From those reports it is known that stone was used, though stone is not native to the place; but it was used only in the more important buildings, temples and palaces; and even then in small proportions because it had to be imported. Stone was never, I think, used in the construction of private houses. The staple material in all buildings was brick made out of earth mixed with water. We have a little of the language of brick making as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. "He made a brick mould; he shaped the vessel of the brick mould; he engraved the brick stamp; he took the clay from a clean place; he made the bricks in a pure place."[1] But from excavations we know that bricks were in use before the First Dynasty of Ur,[2] say 3000 B.C.

In Mr. Woolley's reports the bricks used at the various periods are described in their varied sizes, shapes and qualities. Early bricks are cushioned shaped; later ones square and flat. A very primitive type of bricks measure 0·23 m. by 0·135 m.;[3] in the Isin-Larsa period they are larger: 0·27 by 0·18 m.[4] The qualities are described as "crude," "poor," "very fine and hard"; "unbaked"; "lightly fired"; "kiln burnt." The colours are "red," "grey," "chocolate brown," "pale." The bricks were baked in ovens or, less durably, in the sun, to save them from corrosion in rain and storm.

References to bricks are rare on the tablets of Ur III. On the tablets of the Rylands collection the only reference to bricks

[1] Gudea Statue C, 2 : 20 f. SAKI, p. 76.
[2] Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1926, p. 396.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 394; "0·23 m. by 0·135 m." characteristic of Ur I.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 387.

is in a month name of the Umma calendar.[1] The second month is called *itu giš i-šub ba-gar*. This is the later Siwan which was the month in which people made their houses.[2] Siwan is our May/June and so a hot month, a suitable season for baking clay and for building. The Sumerian month name means: the month when bricks (? brick moulds) were made. A very interesting Ur III reference [3] to bricks is to 20 sar (a sar was about 35¼ square metres) of bricks for the temple foundation of the temple of Ninurra. Another tablet [4] mentions along with other items, 15½ sar of bricks, apparently in connection with the building of *Anzaḳar*, i.e. *dimtu*, a sort of watch tower. Incidentally we may note that a Rylands tablet [5] speaks of sheep of various sorts in connection with the *é-rim*, i.e. the couriers' quarters, of the Anzakar of the river of Girsu. Girsu was a part of the city of Lagash.

The bricks employed in public and private buildings were set usually in mud, less frequently in bitumen. Bitumen was used as mortar " only in important public buildings." [6] Lime came into use at Ur much later. Bitumen served as covering for brick walls and steps, and for wooden coffin lids; as lining of troughs, tanks and pits; as proofing of floors; as filling, e.g. of the copper-bull's head; as basis on which a mosaic design was worked or as coating of wood over which a thin sheet of gold was hammered.[7]

Bitumen (Sumerian *esir*) is an item on several Rylands tablets; as *esir-é-a*,[8] i.e. bitumen for building; as *esir-ud* [9] white (?) bitumen; and as *igi-esir*,[10] i.e. asphalt. The unit of measurement of *esir-é-a* is the *gur*, a measure of grain, oils, and beer. The unit of measure of *esir-ud* and of *igi-esir* is the mina, shekel, etc., as for the silver and metals generally. From this it would appear that we have bitumen in softer and more solid states.

[1] JR. 743; Bedale STU, 23.
[2] Wiedner, *Handbuch der bab. Astronomie*, 85, 20.
[3] Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents*, No. 229.
[4] Keiser, *ibid.*, no. 230. [5] JR. 783 : 7.
[6] *Antiq. Journal*, 1927, p. 390. [7] *Ibid.*, 1924 *passim*; and 1928, p. 437.
[8] JR. 561 : 1; 562 : 1; 563 : 2. [9] JR. 560 : 1. [10] JR. 560 : 2.

The precise destiny of the bitumen is not usually recorded. So on the John Rylands tablets. But one Ur III tablet [1] records *esir-é-a* for the house of libations for the deified king Ur-Nammu, the first king of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Another tablet [2] associates bitumen of the *é-a*, *ud* and *gul. gul* sort, sesame and swine fat with the building of a temple *é-dir*. Parenthetically we may add that Gudea of Lagash anointed the foundation stone of the temple of Innana at Lagash with oil.[3]

An interesting tablet [4] of this period gives us the account of a merchant. From it we can estimate the value in silver of *esir-é-a* relative to other commodities in the sixth year of the reign of Bur Sin. One *gur* of *esir-é-a* has a value of 2 shekels (on the basis of col. 5 line 13 where 1/5 (*gur*) *esir-e-a*, *kù-bi* 1/3 *gín* 12 *še*; and col. 2 : 28; col. 3 : 21; col. 4 : 2; col. 5 : 1); but dates had a value of 2/3 of a shekel per *gur*, barley 1 1/3 shekel per *gur*, soap 1/4 of a shekel per *gur*; *šeli-*, an unidentified ingredient of good oil, about 150 shekel per *gur*; and a black ointment (*šim-gig*) 1/3 of a mina. So that *esir-é-a* was then worth more than dates, barley, or soap; but much less than the oil ingredient or the salve.

Whence did the Sumerians get this bitumen? Gudea's reference to Magda, the mountain of the men who work (?) "asphalt" is, to us, vague. An Ur III text refers to various kinds of *esir* as of coming from Ma-da-ga. Is this the Magda of Gudea? [5] But we do know that bitumen abounds in Hit, "the mouth of hell" as the natives have called it, on the Euphrates above Babylon, and accessible to the people of Sumer. Peters [6] gives the following interesting description of Hit. "It is on a hill, or rather a line of hills running along the Euphrates. . . . Behind it and around it is quite a large plain, partly sandy, partly rocky, and partly muddy. Down this plain flow several streams of bitter water from various bitumen springs.

[1] Schneider, *Montserrat Coll., Analecta Orientalia*, 7; 1932; no. 146.
[2] Schneider GDD, 202. *Orientalia*, 47-49, 1930.
[3] Gudea Statue C, 3 : 8. SAKI, p. 76.
[4] Chiera, *Selected Temple Accounts*, no. 23.
[5] Gudea Statue B, 6 : 51-54. SAKI, p. 70. Chiera STA, no. 11, col. 3, 18.
[6] Nippur, *First Campaign*, pp. 159-163.

Directly behind the town are two springs within thirty feet of one another, from one of which flows hot water, black with bitumen, while the other discharges intermittently bitumen, or, after a rainstorm, bitumen and cold water. The latter is the source of the bitumen of commerce of a great part of Babylonia. . . . Where rocks crop out in the plain about Hit, they are full of seams of bitumen, and one observes the same seams on the face of the buffs on the edge of the plateau. The rock in which these veins occur is gypsum. . . . Herodotus calls the town Is and says, speaking of the building of Nebuchadrezzar's great quays at Babylon: 'The bitumen used in the work was brought to Babylon from Is, a small stream which flows into the Euphrates at the point where the city of the same name stands, eight days' journey from Babylon. Lumps of bitumen are found in great abundance in this river.' "

Houses and temples were called *é*, i.e. house. The word might be qualified by the addition of the name of a deity, of a person, of a profession or title, or of an animal. We shall concern ourselves here only with private houses. There is first the house of the king. Besides the palace (*é-gal*, the great house) there was a 'house of the king' (*é-lugal*), probably a residence smaller and more private than the great house. In connection with the king's house we read on a Rylands tablet [1] of the "wood or forest (*tir*) of the king's house" from which come ten wooden instruments (*giš ri*) for the *má-lal-a*, a sailing vessel. A royal park or wood is mentioned elsewhere [2] during Bur Sin's time. On one Rylands tablet [3] we find mention of a house belonging to Meišdar, a son of the king. Two oxen and one he-goat were despatched to this house and expended in Ur, the royal city and the capital of the kingdom of Ur. This royal personage, Meišdar, is not otherwise known to us. He is called simply "son of the King." The king is not named and the date of the tablet is of itself indecisive, for the date formula occurs both as a date in the reign of Šulgi and of his successor Bur Sin, so that it is doubtful whether Meišdar was the son of Šulgi or of Bur Sin. If he was the son of Šulgi he is the fifth son of whom we

[1] JR. 593.

[2] Contenau TEU, 6674, vii, 18; Schneider GDD, 382 : 48. [3] JR. 470.

have record. If he was the son of Bur Sin he is the eighth son of Bur Sin known to us.

In each city other than the royal city, there was a chief official, the *patesi*. We read on a Rylands tablet [1] of a dyed garment (*tug-muk*) in connection with the house of the patesi of Unima. Another tablet, in the Bedale group,[2] refers to barley from the patesi's house, as food for sheep.

We know that slaves could and did have their own separate dwellings. But actually there is only one text [3] of Ur III that refers to a slave's house and this was the slave of the patesi. It is recorded that barley came from this slave's house as offerings for Šulgi the divinised second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

Already we have mentioned a text which mentions the house or quarters of the couriers (*é-rim*). Another Rylands tablet [4] mentions the house of builders. "Šesani builder, from the month *murub* to the month *dir*, present at the house of builders (*é-dim*), when (whilst) the temple of Sara was (being) built." This same Šesani the builder, is described elsewhere as a builder,[5] again in connection with the temple of Šara, the chief god at Umma.

The word which we have translated builder is *dim*, maker, constructor. Of the hundreds of persons mentioned on Ur III tablets, very very few are described as *dim*. I should say not more than twenty or twenty-five. This suggests that builders were not a special class. Men might be grouped together as *dim* for a special occasion: pressed into service for a special work. But it may be that most of the male inhabitants could build, and that then as now a man who wished to set up house built his own; a state of affairs fairly common in our own country until recently. It seems likely that a Sumerian was competent to carry through the whole process from brick making to brick setting. Occasionally, indeed very occasionally, Ur III records refer to "the house of" so-and-so. But all the information we are vouchsafed is that something is destined for a house or has been taken from it; e.g. dates for the house of Lubanda; [6]

[1] JR. 601, Rev. 6. [2] Bedale STU, 5. [3] Contenau HEU, 94 : 3.
[4] JR. 555. [5] Keiser STD, 176. [6] Schneider GDD, 475 : 2.

cows, sheep and goats returned to the house of Abbasaga ;[1] or barley from a house, as offerings,[2] or as food for sheep ;[3] or sheep and goats from a house.[4] Not very illuminating !

Number 359 of the Rylands collection is concerned with money for work on a building.[5] It is a receipt for the balance of income, of 2/3 of a shekel for each piece of work involved in the construction of 2 *é-ur*, a log-house, of the women's quarters (*é-dam*), whose length is 1½ *gar*, i.e. about 9 metres, and its width ½ a *gar*, i.e. about 3 metres. The money is received from the *ad-é* official. The *ad-é* was a craftsman whose precise craft is uncertain. In one text[6] he is a basket-maker ; a worker who plaits reeds ; and, as reeds were used in the making of boats, the *ad-é*, Semitic *aduppu*, had a hand in shipbuilding. Another Rylands tablet[7] gives details of measurement of a door or, perhaps, merely a door panel. The tablet reads : " *I ig giš-ù* (?) *gid-bi I ú* 4[*šu*]*-si damal-bi I ú, ḳi-Bu-ú-a-ta, E-laḫ-a qa-šu-du, šu-ba-ti, é-sag-da-na, En-lil-ḳi-*[*ḳa* ?], i.e. 1 door-panel of *giš-ù* wood, its length 1 cubit 4 fingers ; its width 1 cubit, from Bua, Elaḫa the cup-bearer received, [in] Esagdana [of] Nippur." The material is some sort of cedar wood, perhaps ; more fully written *giš-ù-ḳu* on another Rylands text.[8] The measurements are small. 1 *finger* is little more than 1·65 cm. ; and 1 *cubit* is about 49½ cm. These are probably not the measurements of a door but only of a part, such as a panel. On another Rylands tablet,[9] there is mention of 2 *giš ig ḫar-ra*, i.e. two doors, or panels, fashioned, shaped.

Finally, clay tablets served the purposes of our writing paper and also as our drawing paper on which was traced an outline of field or house with measurements written along the lines of the plan. Field plans were drawn for purposes of land division and were preserved for reference in case of dispute. But the purpose of house plans is not so clear. No doubt they might

[1] Chiera, *Cuneiform Bullae*, 122 : 2 ; cp. Jean SA. XLII.
[2] GDD, 159 : 2 ; 379 : 2 ; HEU, 94 : 3.
[3] Bedale STU. 14. [4] Legrain TRU, 21 : 17.
[5] Legrain TRU 389 is very like to the JR. tablet, but dated a year earlier.
[6] Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, p. 53, n. 54.
[7] JR. 878. [8] JR. 587. [9] JR. 561 : 3.

serve as a guide in construction. But they are mere sketches, little more than an outline formed by the exterior walls. In the large mass of Ur III material only one house plan tablet has been published.[1] On the tablet there are three plans ; two on the obverse and one on the reverse. The two on the obverse are adjoining ; the one, belonging to Kilari, is 3½ *gar* 3 *ú* square, i.e. *circa*. 18 metres square ; the other belonging to Ḫunar is 2½ *gar* 1 *ú*, i.e. *circa* 15 metres, by 5 *gar* 3 *ú*, i.e. *circa* 30 metres, and annexed is a rectangle 1 *gar* 3 *ú*, i.e. 6 metres by ½ *gar*, i.e. less than 3 metres. On the reverse is a more complex plan with cross divisions and extensions, described as the house of Šarazida.

[1] GDD, 506.

THE ARABIC PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., F.B.A.

LAUDIAN PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE 'SACHSISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN.'

THE Arabic Papyri described in this Catalogue[1] were purchased together with a large number of paper fragments by the late Earl of Crawford in the year 1899. They were placed by him for deciphering and cataloguing in the hands of the late Dr. Josef Karabacek, director of the K. K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna, a scholar who may be regarded as the founder of this particular study, whose works dealing with it are models of scholarship, erudition, and sagacity, and are indispensable to all who have to handle similar material. Though the documents were in his possession for some years, he appears to have found no time to do work upon them, and when the collection became the property of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, in 1901, it was sent over from Vienna, and presently put into the hands of the present writer, who published some specimens of its contents in the *Florilegium* dedicated to M. de Vogüé in 1909. With the authorization of Dr. Guppy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library, the present writer had these documents mounted between glass sheets,[2] and arranged in boxes similar to those used for lantern slides; since his time was largely taken up with other work, and he had repeatedly to travel in the East, he thought it best to send these back to the Library, and pay

[1] *Catalogue of Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, by D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., F.B.A.* With forty plates. Manchester, 1933. 4to, pp. xxiv, 242, 40 plates.

[2] Glass which had been used for X-ray photographs was supplied at a low price for this purpose by the Radcliffe Infirmary.

occasional visits to Manchester to study them. At Dr. Guppy's request he made in 1931 a final verification of his materials.

The town most frequently mentioned in these documents is Ushmun, sometimes in the dual form Ushmunain. These names are of frequent occurrence in the papyri, and the passages in which they occur have been collected by A. Grohmann,[1] in an article which contains valuable information about these as well as about other local names which occur in these documents. His conclusions with regard to the extent of the *kurah* of Ushman or Ushmunain are confirmed by the Rylands papyri, which might possibly have supplemented them if the document XI. 19 had been more fully preserved. The dual form is explained by the division into an Upper and a Lower Ushmun, both copiously illustrated by Grohmann. From the document cited it would appear that Darūṭ might also have had a dual form since there was a Darūṭ the Less. As will be seen from the Index of Local Names the documents do not either emanate from or belong exclusively to this district, but are likely to have been consigned to the waste-paper baskets (or their equivalents) of residents there. Indeed since the great majority of the scraps belong to letters, which might from their nature come from anywhere, we should expect to find references to places at a distance from Ushmun. On the other hand the documents which do not belong to this class are likely to belong to Ushmun or its district, even when the fragment contains no allusion by which its home can be identified.

A list is given at the end of the work of dated documents, and the greater number belong to the third century A.H., while a few belong to the second, some to the fourth, and (perhaps) a very few to the fifth; the use of papyrus as late as this is surprising.

They have been classified in the manner shown in the Table of Contents, but it has not always been easy to decide whether a document should be included in one of these groups, or relegated to the mass of 'Minor Fragments.' Size and legibility have been the determining considerations.

[1] *Archiv Orientalní*, Journal of the Czechoslovak Institute, Prague, iii (1931), p. 388 *sqq.*

The contents of waste-paper baskets have a tendency to be similar in all ages and with all nations. Documents of importance rarely find their way thither; such are either carefully guarded or carefully destroyed. The majority of those which have got into this collection are of a sort which were neither valuable nor dangerous; chiefly private letters of persons whose lives entered neither into political nor literary history. Few of these are preserved intact; most of them were torn either vertically or horizontally before being consigned to the rubbish heap, whence only a portion remains. Even when such documents are preserved intact, interpretation is often difficult, since the matters with which they deal, though familiar to the addressee, are quite unknown to outsiders; domestic joys and sorrows, difficulties and expectations, for the understanding of which family history is requisite. Where, as in the majority of cases, what is preserved is only a scrap or torn portion of a letter, ingenuity would be wasted in the endeavour to reconstruct it.

It would seem that Professor Karabacek had hoped to be able to piece together complete letters from some, at any rate, of the fragments, and the present writer has in one or two cases been able to effect this. The process could not often be carried out, since what survives is most frequently either the commencing or the final salutation; care perhaps was taken to destroy the actual messages. Of the peril which sometimes attended the preservation of a letter we have a hint in VI. 6, where the writer requests that it be burned after perusal: the contents do not explain the necessity for this. The danger resulting from preservation is clearly illustrated in one of Tanukhi's anecdotes.[1] Abu'l-'Abbas, brother of the celebrated vizier Ibn al-Furat, noticed hanging up in a confectioner's shop a letter (to be used for wrapping sweetmeats) which he perceived to be in the script of one Ḥusain b. 'Amr, who had been secretary to al-Muktafi (ob. 289 A.H.) when he was a provincial governor. Abu'l-'Abbas ordered his slave to purchase some of the confectioner's wares and see that they were wrapped in this particular cover. The

[1] Translated in *Islamic Culture*, vi (1932), p. 384.

letter proved to be a communication to the vizier 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaiman in which the future Caliph was charged with viciousness and incompetence and his recall urgently advised. Abu'l-'Abbas preserved the document as a weapon to be used, if desirable, against its author, and presently, when al-Muktafi was Caliph, an occasion arose on which he employed it effectively for that author's ruin. Unfortunately his procedure enabled his enemies to represent him as a dangerous person to the vizier in whose favour he had employed this weapon, and who, if Tanukhi is to be believed, put him to death with poison.

Besides illustrating the reasons for destroying correspondence this anecdote also indicates that individuality of script in this alphabet of at most 14 signs was no less marked than in ours of 52. And indeed there is this individuality in the fragments which form the collection which is here described.

Since papyrus was an Egyptian product, it is likely to have been cheaper in that country than elsewhere. There appears to be no reference to the cost in these papyri, which are full of requests for correspondence. Some economy was practised by replying to letters on the verso, and by washing out a communication with the view of using the same material for another. It is clear that many of these documents have been subjected to this process, which naturally does not improve their legibility. References to the practice, and indeed in connexion with *paper*, are frequent in Arabic literature. It was familiar in the fifth century B.C. to Aeschylus, who has a line

βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν

The material is mentioned by its Arabic name (*qirṭās*) in the fragment XV. 78. Dr. Mingana has called my attention to a passage in the Apology of Timotheus for Christianity,[1] wherein it is distinctly stated that the letter of the Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785 A.D.) was written on papyrus, the Greek word being there given as the equivalent of the Syriac word which is the origin of the Arabic *qirṭās*,[2] and the reed whence it was manu-

[1] *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii, 21 (p. 96 of the Syriac text).

[2] *Khiṭaṭ* (original edition) i, 91, line 8 a.f., cited by W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei in Aegypten*, Hamburg, 1928, p. 7.

factured mentioned. Maqrīzī asserts that paper (*ḳāghad*) was introduced into the public offices by Ja'far b. Yaḥya the Barmecide in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who came to the throne in 786 A.D. An interesting notice is quoted by Tha'ālibī [1] from Jāḥiẓ of Basrah (ob. 255 A.H. = 869 A.D.) that 'the papyri of Egypt are to the West like the papers of Samarqand to the East'; while Eastern Islam was using paper, Western Islam continued to use papyrus. Maqrizi (ob. 846 A.H.) does not state whence he got his information, which is remarkably confirmed by Dr. Mingana's document.

By the end of the fourth Islamic century it would seem that papyrus had been driven out of the market by paper, of which in the time of Abu Ṣāliḥ (sixth century of Islam) there was a factory in Asouan.[2] Another rival which was driven out by paper, and which is not represented in this collection, was parchment. When Jāḥiẓ speaks of 'skin' in this context, he apparently refers to binding material, not to the material of the book. 'I have seen,' he says, 'in the possession of Dāwūd b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī a book on snakes, more than ten skins; what is correct therein is the amount of one skin and a half.'[3] By 'skin' he appears to mean 'volume,' a word taken over from the time of papyrus rolls. The employment of this material for title-deeds about the year 300 A.H. is illustrated by an anecdote recorded by Ibn Khallikan.[4] A man of Ispahan presented his beloved with certain estates, of which he sent her the title-deeds; these were loaded on a mule. Another lover, who wished to imitate his generosity, and supposed the gift to consist in pieces of parchment, purchased enough to form the load of two mules, and sent them to his lady-love. The latter was indignant at this unsavoury gift, and replied with some stinging verses. The assignation of plantations in IX. 1 is on papyrus, doubtless a less costly, but also an inodorous material.

Where enough remains to indicate the purport of the letters, one is reminded of Dickens's words about the old mail-coaches;[5]

[1] *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, p. 97, line 6 a.f., cited by de Goeje, *Gloss. Geog.*, p. 341.
[2] *Churches and Monasteries*, p. 66, with Evetts's notes.
[3] *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, iv, 60. [4] Ed. Cairo 1299, ii, 204.
[5] *Pickwick Papers*, Chapter xlix.

> We thought of the numbers of people to whom one of those crazy, mouldering vehicles had borne, night after night, for many years, and through all weathers, the anxiously expected intelligence, the eagerly looked-for remittance, the promised assurance of health and safety, the sudden announcement of sickness and death. The merchant, the lover, the wife, the widow, the mother, the very child who tottered to the door at the postman's knock,—how had they all looked forward to the arrival of the old coach ! And where were they all now ?

Mutatis mutandis this description applies to the recipients of the letters which in a seriously damaged condition have ultimately found their way to Manchester. One of the chief *mutanda* is in the mode whereby the letters were conveyed. The Egyptians of this period had neither mail-coaches, nor in our sense postmen ; though the earliest of our documents are orders on the post-master of Ushmun to supply messengers with mules, conveyance of letters to private persons was ordinarily through unofficial travellers. The case of VI. 8 is clearly exceptional. But the contents of the letters, and the mentality of the recipients, correspond well with this passage. ' The eagerly looked-for remittance ' is the writer's chief concern, though the letters more often deal with the request for it than with the despatch.

Next to private letters tradesmen's and household accounts form the largest portion of the collection. These were, of course, private memoranda, doubtless both legible and intelligible to their authors, but conveying little meaning to outsiders, especially when only scraps survive. It has been considered sufficient to transcribe some specimens of these accounts, while relegating the remainder to the ' Minor Fragments.' Cereals and vegetable produce are the wares most frequently mentioned. If the document XI. 11 has been correctly interpreted, it is of some interest as introducing us into the bureau of a provincial apothecary. In the great cities the healing art was practised on a great scale ; One Qaṭī'ī who lived in Egypt in this period ' used to earn every month a thousand dinars from stipends and fees paid by ordinary patients.' He could afford to keep a private hospital for poor people.[1] The members of the profession with whom this document acquaints us more nearly resemble those of Algeria

[1] Tanukhi in *Islamic Culture*, V. (1931), p. 579.

before the French occupation, as described by a German visitor near the end of the eighteenth century, from whose work M. E. Mersiol has published an amusing extract.[1]

Receipts for payment of kharaj, mostly in illegible scrawls, which however Karabacek has taught us to decipher, are well represented in this collection. It would seem that the sums were paid in very small instalments, which must have made the task of the Collector one of great difficulty. Occasionally, however, larger sums are mentioned.

To the study of the import of these documents and their notation the most important contribution known to the writer that has been made since the time of Karabacek is the article in *Der Islam*, iv (1913), *Beiträge zur arabischen Papyrusforschung*, by K. W. Hofmeier. This scholar has called attention to the extreme difficulty of reading many of the figures, and has produced some valuable results obtained from his examination of numerous documents of this sort. It would seem, however, that the publication of which a portion had been set up, and which was to have contained facsimiles of such documents with his interpretation of their contents, has not yet appeared. It is likely that that publication would have given convincing proof of the correctness of the solutions which he offers to the difficulties suggested by these receipts; the receipts in the possession of the Rylands Library are not sufficient in number either to confirm his solutions or to suggest others. One difficulty lies in the employment of series of fractions of the dinar, when the arithmetical operation required could have been avoided by giving the sum in Qīrāṭs. If 24 of these went to the Dinar, it would surely be easier to say 23 quirats than $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{8}$ of a dinar. Further in what form were these fractions of a dinar paid? Hofmeier says in silver; hence he renders the formula in some of the receipts *bilā sarf* 'without agio,' i.e. the money-changer's commission to be paid by the taxpayer. The process was evidently a somewhat complicated one, if this be right; for in addition to computing the value of the silver coins in terms of the gold dinar, the taxpayer or taxcollector had also to calculate

[1] *Deuxième Congrès National des Sciences Historiques*, Alger, 1932, p. 311.

the allowance to be made for the money-changer's commission. The process could only be carried out with facility if there was a fixed ratio between the gold and silver coins and a fixed commission. The texts suggest that the ratio between gold and silver coins was exceedingly variable, and the question arises how it came to be possible to express these fractions of the dinar in silver coins at all. It is unfortunate that Maqrizi's treatise on Islamic coinage [1] is of no help whatever for these matters, and the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, though in general of great value, gives scanty information about the coinage.

This Kharaj or Land-tax, about which much has been written, fills many a page in both the historical literature and the collections of anecdotes, and was a matter of prime importance to the people from whom our documents emanate; mention of it crops up incessantly. The sources enumerated introduce us to various forms of dishonesty practised both in assessment and collection, to which some of the perpetrators confess unblushingly; the letters in this collection add some illustrations.

Although so much is heard in these documents of the kharaj, it does not seem that the notices which they contain will modify the results obtained by C. H. Becker from a study of those described by Karabacek collated with the statements of the historians.[2] It would appear that the increase of the duty to something over 1 dinar for a feddan, introduced in 228 A.H. (Becker, p. 118), was not unknown before that period; for in the very interesting lease IX. 6 of the date 182 A.H. whereas the rent to be paid for the land is 1 dinar for 1 feddan, the lessee has to pay kharaj 'according to the distribution'; the tax then is unlikely to have been identical in amount with the rent, and was clearly a variable sum. There is (apparently) an allusion to a tax on naphtha in II. 8, which resembles the tax on sodium carbonate introduced by Ibn al-Mudabbir about 247 A.H. (Becker, p. 146); this document is unfortunately without date. Kharai on the plant *qarad*, mentioned in VII. 19, perhaps belongs to the same group of additional demands. The writer of II. 5 complains of a tax called nuzl, which in Spain meant provisions to

[1] *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyyah*, Constantinople, Jawā'ib Press, 1298.

[2] *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens unter dem Islam*, 1903, pp. 114 foll.

be supplied to a prince who was travelling, and is likely to mean the same here ; this is not mentioned in the long list of extortions abolished by Saladin.[1] The fragment XV. 38 is likely to refer to some recently introduced form of taxation.

Of literary works there are here very scanty remains ; possibly such books as these Egyptians possessed were too valuable to be consigned to the rubbish-heap. And indeed, when we get notices of the price of books, it appears to be somewhat prohibitive.[2] From the amounts which our correspondents expend, and for which they express unbounded gratitude, we should gather that they were for the most part of small means.

Magic is represented by one fairly lengthy page out of a book of spells, and certain fragments which belong to the same subject. They are similar in character to those of which Tanukhi gives examples in the Second Part of his *Nishwār*, and which he found infallible. How wide-spread the belief in magic was is indicated by the fact that this writer not only belonged to the most highly educated class, but was an adherent of Mu'tazilite doctrine, which ridiculed the belief in Jinn and their activities. The spells which he favours consist largely of Qur'anic verses,[3] but he does not disdain the employment of barbarous words, which are very common in these compositions, and are sometimes, though by no means always, traceable to some foreign language.

The very modest interest and importance which attaches to this material is explained by the considerations which have been given above. The accession of the 'Abbāsid dynasty had removed Egypt very far from the centre of the empire ; the days when its ruler was to be a dangerous rival to the Caliph of Baghdad had not yet arrived. And though we are fortunate in possessing monographs on its rulers and qāḍīs, the information which they furnish is scanty. And in Egypt Ushmunain (about

[1] Maqrizi, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 104 (quoted by Becker).

[2] The Sharif al-Murtadā (355–436 A.H.) paid 60 dinars (about £45) for a copy of the *Jamharah of* Ibn Duraid (Ibn Khallikan, i, 425). Copies of Jauhari's Dictionary (by a caligrapher) fetched 100 dinars (*ibid.*, ii, 274).

[3] Cf. his *Al-Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah*, i, 30 foll.

31 E. long. 28 N. lat.), West of the Nile, not far north of Tell-el-Amarna (East of the Nile), which has recently become famous, was not a place of much importance ; Istakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal call it a small city, populous, possessing palms and cultivated fields, whence many garments are exported. To the palms there are some references in the papyri, notably in the document IX. 2, dealing with a bequest of certain plantations. References to wheat, and other agricultural produce, are frequent. On the other hand the orders for clothes suggest that these were imported rather than exported. The inhabitants were very largely Copts, whose names figure largely in the papyri, mixed with others which are evidently Muslim. Jewish names also occur, but rarely. Probably the life in this 'city' and the villages of the district (according to Abu Ṣāliḥ 300 in number) was not very different from that which is so vividly described by Ṭā Hā Ḥusain in the autobiography of which Mr. Paxton has furnished a translation. They were indeed interested in changes in the government, but their concerns were mainly domestic and either agricultural or commercial. Earnest students, like Shāfi'ī and Ṭabarī, who travelled far and wide to hear traditions, would not ordinarily visit such places. Several of those which are mentioned in the documents are to be found in the geographical Index to the work of Abu Ṣāliḥ, edited by Mr. Evetts,[1] where details of their churches and monasteries are furnished.

The material collected here is unlikely to be of much interest to the historian, but it may have some for the sociologist. He will not fail to be struck by the important part played by women in the management of affairs. A large number of the letters are either from or to women, who give instructions about the management of estates, and interfere with the collection of kharaj, besides exerting their influence in domestic matters. If their correspondence was written and read by themselves, and not through professional letter-writers, they must have attained a good standard in education, since grammatical mistakes are slight and infrequent, colloquialisms are rare, and ability to read these documents at all is not easily acquired.

[1] *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, Oxford, 1895.

We should gather that the relations between the Muslim and Christian communities were ordinarily of a friendly character, though I. 4 suggests discrimination against the Copts. In many of the lists dealing with business matters Muslim and Coptic names figure miscellaneously, and the complaints which many of the letters contain appear to be unconnected with the religious difference. To the harsh conditions which some of the Caliphs imposed on the *dhimmīs* it would not be easy to find any illusion in this material. Neither do the sectarian storms which raged in other Islamic territories seem to have affected these backwaters.

For historical allusions the treatises of al-Kindī, edited by Mr. Guest,[1] have proved useful; for geographical matter the monumental work of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak[2] has been found a mine of information. For the identification of Coptic names the recently published work of Dr. Gustav Heuser[3] has been very helpful.

The writer has endeavoured to profit by the study of the works of the masters of Arabic papyrology, Karabacek, Becker, Grohmann, Hofmeier and others.

Although much time and trouble have been spent on the classification, decipherment, and to some extent interpretation of the documents, the utmost for which the writer hopes is that the judgment of experts on his work may be lenient. There are indeed certain matters which evidently call for excuse or apology.

In the first place he has not deemed it necessary to furnish photographic facsimiles of all the documents; he believes the selection which he has made will be sufficient to enable the student to estimate the correctness of the transcriptions, and to illustrate the palæography of the periods to which the documents belong, and the classes from which they emanate. Should any student require a facsimile of any document which has not been reproduced in this way, it will be easy to procure one

[1] *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Gibb Memorial, 1912.
[2] *Al-Khiṭat al-jadīdah al-Tawfīqiyyah*, Cairo, 1309 etc. A.H.
[3] *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, Leipzig, 1929.
[4] *Adab al-Kuttāb*, Cairo, 1341, pp. 57 and foll.

at small cost by application to the Librarian with reference to case and number. The 'old numbers,' i.e. those which were attached when the preliminary survey was made, have been recorded, solely for the purpose of rendering the finding of the plates required easy and certain.

In the second place the documents have been with rare exceptions copied in the ordinary Arabic script with diacritic points, though these are almost entirely absent from the originals. We learn, e.g. from the handbook of Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, who died 338 A.H., and so was contemporary with the writers of many of these documents, that the insertion of diacritic dots was regarded as an insult to the intelligence of the reader, though it is admitted that their omission often led to serious misunderstanding. An earlier author on the art of letter-writing, Ibrahim b. al-Mudabbir (ob. 279 A.H.) in his *Risālah al-'Adhrā*[1] goes so far as to warn the letter-writer against inserting diacritic points or vowel-signs, except where a word is so difficult that the addressee is quite sure to be non-plussed by it. He adds that he prefers to be in doubt about a word to the disgrace of points and vowel-signs, and that the Caliph Ma'mun had severely condemned their use. The poet Abū Tammām (ob. 228 A.H.) speaks of a letter with diacritic dots and vowel-signs as a curiosity.[2] Examples of mistakes which arose from their absence are given in al-'Askari's work on textual corruption.[3] The grammarian Mubarrad records a serious one dating from the first century of Islam.[4] Yet, when the letters are carefully formed, as in the scripts of the second century, a faithful copy might well leave it to the reader to insert them; for usually one who knows the language can do this with certainty, *when the form of the consonant is distinct.* The practice of employing the same sign for *B, T, Th, N, Y* is not so very different from our method of using the combination *OUGH* for sounds as dissimilar as *UFF* and *OW*, etc. In the greater number of cases this condition is by no means fulfilled. Some of the initial salutations are so written that it would be no great exaggeration to say that the same sign is employed

[1] Ed. Zaki Mubarak, Cairo, 1931, p. 25.
[2] *Dīwān*, Beyrut, 1889, p. 374.
[3] *Kitāb al-taṣḥīf wal-taḥrīf*, Cairo, 1908.
[4] *Kāmil* (Cairo, 1308 A.H.), i, 292.

for at least nine different letters ; and though these formulæ owing to their frequent recurrence are legible, greater difficulty arises when the practice is extended to the rest of the document. The decipherer has in such cases to *interpret ;* it seems best to furnish a complete interpretation.

In the third place, since a Catalogue is not the same as an edition, the writer has exercised some licence with regard to the amount of material to be reproduced or translated. From the description given above of the Minor Fragments (§ XV), it will be seen that little or nothing would in most cases be gained from a complete reproduction and translation. It would resemble a lengthy series of *Dear Sir* and *Yours sincerely*. The assignation of particular compliments to particular officials, which, if properly observed, would give a clue to the position of the addresses, seems to belong to a period later than these papyri. Hilāl (360-447 A.H.) gives a detailed account of the usage of the fourth century of Islam.[1] In the handbook of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī (ob. 336 A.H.) [2] the assignation would seem to be far less stereotyped. Some of the questions which arose with regard to these initial compliments involve subtle considerations. Thus according to some authorities *May I be made your ransom* should not be addressed to a superior, since a ransom should be the equivalent of the ransomed, and this formula would imply equality with the addressee. No such inconvenience would attend the wish which we occasionally find, that the addressee may outlive the writer, or that the addressee may outlive his wife.

Where what is preserved of the longer letters consists entirely of compliments and salutations, translation has seemed superfluous ; such proper names, however, as occur in these documents have been recorded in the Index.

The sections which on the one hand have given the writer most trouble, and on the other seem to him the least satisfactory, are those which reproduce Accounts of tradesmen and managers (§§ XI and XII). For the interpretation of the figures employed he has been guided chiefly by Karabacek, but has obtained

[1] *Kitāb al-Wuzarā*, ed. Amedroz, pp. 153–159.
[2] *Adab al-Kuttāb*, especially pp. 150 foll.

occasional help from some other sources, e.g. the tables appended to the treatise on the *Hamzah* by ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Masʿūdī.[1] It might, indeed, have been expected that even in private memoranda figures would have been written so distinctly as to be unmistakable. This expectation is by no means fulfilled, whence the liability to error in the identification of the signs is very serious. That which represents the Greek γ is at times indistinguishable from that which is intended for δ; that which is meant for η might be easily confused with κ. The sign of which Karabacek (or Wessely) discovered the import to be $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4}$ is very like one which clearly signifies $\frac{2}{3}$. Karabacek has himself called attention to the carelessness with which the signs for *dīnār* and *qīrāṭ* are written. All these signs seem to be scrawled with extra negligence in the receipts for kharaj, where we might expect them to be particularly clear; in these, however, the sums are also written in words as well as the dates, so that the import is fairly certain. The words which signify the fractions *a half* and *an eighth* are ordinarily so written as to furnish little indication of the consonants of which they are composed. The use of the Arabic notation (i.e. the employment of the Arabic letters as figures) appears in a receipt for A.H. 309. The experience of the writer in interpreting the dates on the astrolabes edited by Dr. Gunther[2] has shown him that it is possible to render these as illegible as the Græco Coptic figures.

The statement quoted by Mez[3] from Yaḥyā b. Ādam[4] that the dinar was the coin of Egypt, whereas the dirhem was that of Iraq, is in the main borne out by these documents, though the dirhem figures not infrequently.[5] Hence he is quite right in charging Maqrizi with serious exaggeration in the assertion that the dirhem was not heard of in Egypt till Saladin's time; and indeed this assertion can be disproved from Maqrizi's own treatise on the coinage. A curious passage dealing with

[1] *Takmīl al-Shurūḥāt fi Qawāʿid kitābat al-Hamazāt*, Cairo, 1925.

[2] *The Astrolabes of the World*, Oxford, 1932.

[3] *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 445.

[4] *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Juynboll, p. 58.

[5] See also C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens unter dem Islam*, 1903, p. 132.

coins is to be found in VIII. 6, which the writer has endeavoured to explain. In VIII. 2 a quarter of a dirhem is sent by a slave, with instructions as to the price to be paid for the different drugs required; the sum does not seem to come right. In most cases where the figures attached to the items might be checked by a total, either the total or some of the items are lost.

The writer's treatment of these documents may therefore meet with severe and possibly just criticism: he can only allege in excuse that he has done his best.

Further excuse must be offered for the writer's procedure in occasionally dealing with the recto and the verso of the same papyrus in different parts of the volume. This was a necessary result of his endeavour to classify the material and arrange it under heads. Any inconvenience that may arise should find its solution in the Index of the papyri according to their location in the Library. Where a number of fragments have been mounted between the same sheets of glass they are distinguished by letters of the alphabet (A, B, etc.), and the student should have no difficulty in identifying them. They have been so mounted chiefly with a view to economy.

In certain cases it will be found stated that some part of the papyrus is in a script unknown to the writer, and possibly in cipher. He has not regarded it as part of his duty to describe these writings any further. The employment of cipher for secret messages at the time of these documents is attested by Ibrahim b. al-Mudabbir,[1] who gives some curious precepts for this purpose. People, he says, in this matter have attached themselves to al-Qummi and al-Isfahani; he does not tell us whether these were the names of persons or of ciphers. His own suggestion is that the letters should be secretly substituted for each other, or that secret ink be employed, of which he mentions several varieties. He also knows methods of tampering with the seals of documents, but does not consider it desirable to describe them.

I will terminate this Preface by again expressing the hope that critics of this work will make allowances for the many difficulties

[1] *Al-Risālah al-ʿAdhrā*, § 19.

which it has involved; and my gratitude to Dr. Guppy both for entrusting me with it, and providing all possible facilities for its execution; to Dr. Mingana, till recently in charge of the Oriental MSS. of the John Rylands Library, for counsel and assistance: and to Mr. U. Gantillon of the Clarendon Press, who has taken great interest in the work, and made many valuable corrections and sugggestions.

SOME EARLY LETTERS OF MARK PATTISON.

BY FRANCIS CHARLES MONTAGUE, M.A.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, AND HONORARY FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

The unpublished letters used in the following paper were brought to my notice by Professor Powicke, to whom they had been lent by Mark Pattison's niece, Lady de Saumarez. I am indebted to the kindness of Lady de Saumarez for permission to quote from them.

ALTHOUGH in popular fancy the University of Oxford is unchangeable, it has changed as much in the last hundred years as any other English institution. A hundred years ago Oxford was a small city in a purely agricultural district, surrounded by villages of high antiquity. The University numbered but a fraction of its members at the present day, and they were drawn from far fewer classes. All its members were at least nominally members of the Church of England, and almost all its rulers were clergymen. For most of them ecclesiastical preferment was the only available form of pension. All undergraduates lived in College buildings, then far less extensive than now. Fellows of Colleges were celibates and, if they lived in Oxford, lived in College. The academic society was not only smaller but more homogeneous than now and therefore easily agitated by such a movement as the famous theological controversy of a hundred years ago.

Among the ablest of the younger men who were for a time carried away by the Tractarian movement was Mark Pattison, afterwards Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and author of several works distinguished by fine scholarship and severe elegance of style. Mark was the son of the rector of Hawkeswell in the North Riding of Yorkshire. His boyhood was uneventful. He never went to school, but was educated at home, chiefly by his father. The quiet life of a moorland rectory favoured

the love of reading, and from the first Mark read every book which came within his reach. When he matriculated at Oriel in 1832, he already possessed an unusual store of learning. At Oxford, as he relates in his *Memoirs*, the perusal of Gibbon's *Autobiography* made conscious his hitherto instinctive desire of self-culture, and showed him, as none of his tutors had done, how it was to be achieved. But the very extent of his reading and his habitual endeavour to get to the bottom of every subject which engaged his attention, hindered him from preparing for examinations to the best advantage. He had to be content with a second class in the final examination in Literae Humaniores, June, 1836.

It had always been Pattison's wish, he assures us, to lead a studious life which could best be done by gaining a Fellowship. Accordingly he offered himself as a candidate at various Colleges but was everywhere unsuccessful, even at his own Oriel. He had therefore to consider what he should do for a livelihood. His father hoped that he would go to the Bar, but for that he felt no inclination. He was naturally familiar with all the details of the life of a country parson, which in those days was still leisurely enough to allow of serious study. He always intended to take Orders. At last he gained his heart's desire. In November, 1839, he once more entered for a Fellowship examination, this time at Lincoln College, and was elected, an event which determined the whole course of his subsequent life.

Pattison had several sisters over whom he tyrannized and by whom he was spoilt as is usual with lads who have many sisters. At Oxford he maintained a steady correspondence with them, especially with one named Elinor, who seems to have been a woman of uncommon ability. She is one of the many instances which disprove the prejudice that, before the age of women's colleges, all women were illiterate. Women's life a hundred years ago was for the most part quiet and leisurely. The strenuous amusements of to-day, tennis and motoring, conferences and congresses, were unknown. It was still possible for women to read long books and to reflect upon their contents. Elinor clearly read a great deal, even making excursions into Greek and Latin. Relatives have preserved a number of letters from Pattison to his

sisters between the years 1836 and 1852 from which the following extracts are taken. There are ninety-seven letters, of which only thirty-two are properly dated, the remainder bearing such dates as "August 23" or "Sunday 12 o'clock." In about a quarter of these the year of writing can be inferred from the contents, but in the rest this seems impossible. The great majority were written between 1839 and 1847.

The letters show Pattison's wish to improve his correspondents, on whom he bestowed much good advice, as in the following passage :—

"For the books, you must remember that hitherto you have hardly used them for anything more than a relaxation—in which point of view they become insipid, unless recommended by some other severe labour. You may always give them interest by taking to them as matter of study—and making them your *task*."

Excellent ! and in another letter he gives equally wise counsel :

"With reference to what you say about yourself," he writes, "I can only repeat what I have so often told you that nothing can be done without industry and almost anything with, and that, in your situation with your time at command, mental exertion ought to be at once your business and your amusement. The *βίος θεωρητικός* (this may practise your Greek), though not happiness itself, is yet one of its causes. You would not listen to me when I advised you not to attempt Tacitus, so I must not recommend you to give it up—truly, you cannot read any book in the language without improving your knowledge of it, but the question is—is this the book most suited to my wants ? and I have fathomed the shallows of your scholarship enough to see that you will find sufficient novelties (i.e. difficulties) in much easier Latin than Tacitus."

Or again—

"Desultory reading will never do for you what persevering hard study will, if you avoid your old snare of thinking you have actually *done* so much when you have read over a certain number of pages or chapters."

Even Elinor now and then winced under the process of improvement, as is shown by the following apology :—

"I must confess that I deserve that you should look on me as you do, as a schoolmaster or posture master, to whom all you say or do is a matter of remark and criticism. This, however, you must know is a position so disagreeable to me that I am trying to get quite out of it, and to regard you as I do other people—as fullgrown, and no longer needing pupillage. I am sure you will see the propriety of this being so. Indeed, you make me uncomfortably stifle expression of opinion in many cases, from knowing the undue weight which it has with you. Advice as to conduct from one of great tact and experience is very seldom of any use, how much less from one who is notoriously deficient in both. Now then I will proceed to express opinion in the trust that you will neither adopt it out of deference to me, nor sophistically argue against it to prove your independence."

But, in spite of a few touches didactic and austere, such as well beseem the youthful don, the letters show how full and intimate was the exchange of ideas between him and at least Elinor. It is to be regretted that we have none of her replies.

Mark Pattison was always critical and, even in the joy of his election at Lincoln, was far from blind to the imperfections of his new colleagues.

"Every College," he wrote (Nov. 10, 1839), "has its peculiar character, distinct enough to those who have seen, but impossible to convey by words. If you divide the Oxford Common Rooms into three classes, the first containing those whose members are Scholars and Divines—the second which are fashionable and aristocratically inclined men of the world—the third unfashionable, good, honest squires, barristers and country parsons—Oriel may be the instance of the first, Merton or All Souls of the second, and Lincoln will represent the third."

At the time when Pattison was elected to a Lincoln Fellowship he was beginning to feel the impulse of the Tractarian movement. When Tract I appeared Pattison was only an undergraduate. He has recorded in his *Memoirs* that for some years he took no interest in Tractarian ideas. He had been reared a strict Evangelical and his natural bias was towards Liberalism. When Dr. Hampden had, by his Bampton Lectures in 1832, which seemed to belittle the importance of dogma, kindled a

once furious though now forgotten controversy, Pattison " openly and ostentatiously took the side of Hampden. The fact was that I was delighted with the Bampton lectures " (*Memoirs*, p. 170). And, although as an Oriel man he had made Newman's acquaintance, and had impressed Newman by his papers in the Fellowship examination, it was not until 1838 that Pattison came under Newman's influence.

While waiting for the chance of a Fellowship he had a good deal of leisure which he wished to employ. Dr. Pusey had taken a house in Oxford where he intended that a number of young men should lead a frugal life in common and devote themselves to sacred letters. Pattison joined this society, collated MSS. of Cyprian in the Bodleian for Pusey and, when Newman planned a translation of St. Thomas Aquinas' work on the Gospels, the *Catena Aurea*, undertook Matthew and Mark, although he afterwards limited himself to Matthew. Thus Newman's growing attraction and his own taste for ecclesiastical lore drew him into the movement. Much, he has himself told us, was also due to a recoil from doctrines impressed upon him when a boy. " To my home Puritan religion, almost narrowed to two points—fear of God's wrath and faith in the doctrine of the atonement—the idea of the Church was a widening of the horizon which stirred up the spirit and filled it with enthusiasm " (*Memoirs*, p. 326). Before the close of 1839 his transformation was complete. " I became a declared Puseyite, then an ultra-Puseyite " (*Memoirs*, p. 184). In this frame of mind he remained for some time after Newman quitted the Church of England, and from it he only emerged by degrees.

With all his Tractarian fervour, he could do justice to an eminent man who disapproved of the Tractarians, and whom the Tractarians regarded as almost a heretic. Dr. Arnold was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in 1841 and delivered his inaugural lecture in December. Pattison wrote to his sister :—

" I have just come from one of the most interesting scenes I have seen for some time—Arnold's inaugural Lecture. The attendance promised was so great that it was obliged to be adjourned from the Clarendon room to the Theatre—and the area

of that was nearly filled, so great was the expectation excited—and A. did not disappoint it—his Lecture was highly interesting and well delivered and, in many places, eloquent."

Somewhat later he writes :—

"The most interesting thing doing here is Arnold's Lectures which are going on and which I like very much. The views are perhaps superficial—the matter of the Lectures might not do to study, but to hear once I have not listened to anyone for a long time with so much pleasure. He is about the sort of man you may imagine Guizot to be—or to have been when he lectured, before he acquired rank and importance by having held office—wise, clever and well-informed, always clear and eloquent when needful. In speaking of early periods of modern history he mentioned the difficulty of the miracles which recur in every page and this he discussed in a most admirable way."

Dr. Hampden, who had aggravated the guilt of his Bampton Lectures in the eyes of High Churchmen by a pamphlet entitled "Observations on Religious Dissent," published in 1834, was in 1836 appointed Regius Professor of Divinity by Lord Melbourne. Under orthodox pressure the Heads of Houses framed a statute to deprive the Professor of his voice in the selection of University preachers, on the ground that he did not possess the confidence of the University. Defeated once by the veto of the Proctors, the statute passed without difficulty when they had gone out of office. But Hampden had many friends in the University who, in 1842, hoped to reverse his condemnation. The Heads of Houses gave notice that a statute abrogating the Statute of 1836 would be submitted to Convocation. A number of resident members of Convocation thereupon petitioned that the proposed statute might be withdrawn. The Heads of Houses would not accede to the petition. Then the petitioners issued an appeal to non-resident members of Convocation, imploring them to attend on the day when the statute would be brought forward and to ensure its rejection. Pattison, once Hampden's admirer, eagerly took part in these measures. He wrote to his sister :—

"How the country will receive the appeal to them I have not the slightest idea, but in my eyes the victory or defeat are unimportant in comparison of the lodging the protest in vindication

of Catholic truth against the deepest and subtlest heresy of our day. The number of signatures was about 65 or 70, a majority of the resident M.A.'s, but had it been only two—nay had it been *Athanasius contra mundum*, there would have been the witness to the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints to which the Church in time to come might have appealed in proof that the succession of doctrine was never totally broken off."

The statute was rejected and its fearful consequences were averted.

Pattison was not so utterly absorbed in theological disputes that he could not relish common pleasures. He liked excursions to town. "I do not know anything I so thoroughly enjoy," he writes, "as a lounge in the streets of London in the season staring about at everything and everybody in the full security of an incog. I don't care a fig for your regular sight-seeing—simply being in London is all I care for." Nor was he so absolute a don as to disdain all vulgar amusement. Of a visit to London in April, 1842, he wrote:—

"There being nothing tempting at either D(rury) L(ane) or Covent Garden, I went to the New Strand, one of the minor Theatres—The Play was a sort of Burletta called Robert Burns—Robert and Highland Mary are the chief characters—the Scotch was execrable and the Scotch songs the same, but I was tolerably well amused—but the farce which followed was (as usual) by far the best done. You might almost guess its name—it was The New Footman—and, though it was vulgar and meant to be so, I really cannot envy the person whose taste is too refined to laugh most heartily (as I did) at the fun of such pieces—it's all very well to say that they shew a degraded taste in the age—true, so they may—but there they are and what am I to do! I can no more help laughing than if some one were tickling me.

Returning from a visit to Richmond and Hampton Court, he saw Strawberry Hill in the last hour of its glory.

"I had to pay pretty smartly here," he writes, "for the ticket of admission was to take one of Mr. G. Robins' catalogues at 7s. 6d. which, though a ponderous 4to, is perhaps worth about 2s. However, the money was well bestowed to see, what can never be seen again—Strawberry Hill as Horace Walpole left it—I

should write pages if I was to attempt to describe this most absurd of Old Curiosity Shops or one-tenth of the things 'rich and rare' it contains—and which I witnessed G. Robins in the act of dispersing—the auctioneer alone is no small lion to me."

Pattison was appointed, first, lecturer and afterwards, in 1842, tutor at Lincoln. He has told us in his *Memoirs* that College tuition at this time was generally meagre and barren, so that undergraduates who aimed at high honours had to seek the help of the private coach. A better standard was set by Pattison who, feeling in himself the ardent desire of knowledge, was able to awaken it in his pupils. Even stronger than the impulse to teach was the impulse to write. In a letter of 1842 he says, "I cannot read except to write." He twice gained the Denyer Prize for a theological Essay, besides contributing to the organ of his party, the *British Critic*. But in these letters he says little of his work as a teacher or a man of letters, seeming to care only for ecclesiastical interests.

Writing to his sisters in September, 1842, about a friend's return to Oxford, he adds :—

"I have been going on so happily in the ecclesiastical life this last fortnight that I don't feel at all glad at his coming—it breaks in upon the train of my solitary reflections, which have been lately directed to the early times of monasticism, St. Antony, St. Martin, &c. This last month, too (notwithstanding my illness), I had got more into the way of steady reading and serious reflection and self-inspection than I have enjoyed for some time past—and I really hope that I have benefited by this summer's residence here. It is not, therefore, want of sociality that makes me so little ready to welcome H., it is knowing that he cannot sympathize with my present feelings. We agree cordially in intellectual *opinions*—but not, I fear, in what is much more important, in *feeling*. H.'s heart and thoughts are all with the world—he has no notion of practical piety or devotion—having been behind the scenes, he knows that many who make the loudest pretensions to it have it not, and thence concludes that there is *no* such thing."

Lincoln College was patron of the living of Coombe, a pretty village not far from Woodstock, and a Fellow, Mr. Meredith,

was the incumbent. Pattison, who undertook the duty for a Sunday in April, 1843, wrote a letter thence which illustrates the zeal of the new school for improving the condition of churches, then so often neglected :—

"The Vicarage is a neat little cottage—very small—two rooms on ground floor—just the country parson's residence. But the Rectory house is indeed a beautiful place. No wonder that the R. is always so delighted to escape out here from that narrow corner in which he is cooped up in College—Such bay windows and such chimneys, I see over the wall, for it is only separated by a wall from the Curate's narrow domain—both of them flanking the Churchyard. Last—it is the natural order of ideas—comes the Church—small but substantial, and looks well outside—of very late Gothic—probably Henry VIII—I should guess rebuilt by the College—who could not have afforded to do it before that time—but inside miserable—deal pews, white and yellow wash, dirt and everything most offensive. In north wall is a handsome stone pulpit, a copy of the one at Magdalen, now occupied only by spiders and other vermin."

A sermon on the Eucharist preached by Pusey in Christ Church Cathedral on May 24, 1843, gave so much offence to his opponents that he was called to account and suspended by the Vice-Chancellor from preaching within the University for two years. Pattison's comment on the sentence was :—

"The true cause of all I believe to be that Government has been urging the University authorities (no doubt backed by the usual arguments which statesmen have found so prevailing with worldly Churchmen) to do something to put down the Tractarian party—and that they accordingly laid hold of the first plausible pretext—being further irritated in this instance by certain practical reproof of the prevailing neglect in Colleges, especially in the Cathedral, of the Eucharist. The real sting was in the censure of their lax practice while they pretend to take offence at the doctrine."

It is unlikely that Sir Robert Peel, with an immense empire to govern, should have added to his labours by interfering in the disputes of Oxford theologians. Nor did the opponents of the Tractarians need the bribe of church preferment to increase

their abhorrence of doctrines which they deemed fatal to the Protestant religion.

In July, 1843, Pattison went to France with the object of seeing for himself the state of religion in that country. He had an introductory note to the Abbé Faillon, one of the superiors of the seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. He was kindly received and taken out to spend a day at Issy, where the seminary had a house for the retreat and refreshment of its members.

"I got much information about the French clergy," he writes, "and was able in return to give them a correct version of the case of Dr. Pusey's sermon, about which, however, they were not very curious. . . . I cannot tell you how much I was edified by this day's visit, or the number of things I heard and saw. The pious devotional spirit which seems to animate them—the total disconnection with the world, from which they have nothing to look for, and the continual turning of the soul to God in every word and action, is a sight to rejoice the heart. I never saw the Christian life realized before. M. Lehir, especially, though not a man of much intellect, seems animated with a most deep religious spirit—he seems to have but one thought—the saving his own soul and those entrusted to him. What a contrast between this seminary and one of our Colleges, even taking the best of them—between our short and badly attended Prayers and their almost hourly solemn and serious worship!"

It is melancholy to think that a man of Pattison's large intellect on a first visit to a city of such immense and various interest as Paris could find nothing outside the seminary to admire. Apparently he cared nothing for all that Paris offers to the lovers of history, art and science. A very little exploration would have saved him from the gross error that "Paris as it is exhibits but two epochs—that of the Revolution and that of the Empire." Even to-day there is much in Paris older than the Revolution and ninety years ago there was incomparably more. In a few days he found himself quite tired of Paris, although he had not seen half the sights. "The hateful tricolor," he complains, "meets the eye everywhere."

"Walking this evening in the garden of the Tuileries," he wrote: "I felt very strongly how melancholy an object is this city

with all its gaiety and splendour, or rather because of that very gaiety. Surely it is not without danger that one mixes oneself, though but corporeally, with its most ungodly population—ἀθέοι ἐξ ἀθεῶν."

And again :—

"To a careless observer Paris might be little less heathen than London, the Babylon of modern times."

He found some comfort, however, in what he heard about religious revival elsewhere in France.

About this time Newman formed the project of a series of Lives of the British Saints which offered scope to Pattison's literary and historical talents.

"I may now tell you of a scheme which has been in agitation some time and is now in a fair way of being set on foot. It is to publish a series of Lives of the SS. of the British Isles. I went with Church to Littlemore on Thursday and saw J. H. N. about it. The plan is not yet matured, but it will be something of this sort. The Lives are to be popularly written, yet so as not to be mere copies of A. Butler or the Biographical Dictionaries—they will be rewritten from independent historical research. The extent of the whole cannot be determined beforehand, but it may extend to a volume to each month. The extensive field—from Augustine to the Reformation—is to be divided among many labourers. Those hitherto mentioned are Faber, who takes Paulinus and most of the Northumbrian saints. Church will take Anselm, Lanfranc and the rest of William Rufus, and Hen. I's time. Keble is to be asked to take Bede. As everyone seems to shirk S. Dunstan, J. H. N. will probably have to do it.—J. Mozley, as the editor of the *Becket Papers*, may possibly take S. Thomas—Haddan, Buckle, Ryder, with two or three others whose names you don't know, are to take some. I had my choice and, as you may suppose, seized on the XIIIth century. The plan may not be brought to bear for a year or more, but as it is now certain that it will take place, I have resumed my favourite study with a new stimulus. If there was one occupation more than other dear to me, it was this and to be engaged in it in such circumstances, in such company and under such superintendence is an honour and gratification beyond any expectation I could have

ever formed. It is a long time since I have felt so eager in any subject of study as I do at this present in this. I have thought of nothing else since Thursday. Before the last pupil has shut the door in his exit, I snatch up my book and leave Herodotus at a bound for William of Malmesbury or Radulphus de Diceto, or some of those monastic-looking names which you will see scattered along the foot of Lingard through the Hist. of the 12th and 13th centuries."

For Newman's series Pattison wrote the Lives of two famous churchmen in his favourite period, Stephen Langton and Edmund Rich. Neither biography much exceeds a hundred pages. In his *Memoirs* he assures us (and he was not given to boasting) that he spent upon them "an amount of research of which no English historian at that time had set the example" (p. 186). At the present day they are interesting chiefly as they illustrate the Tractarian frame of mind, and show how closely Pattison approached to the orthodox Roman Catholic hagiographer.

The Tractarians viewed the Church of Rome more favourably than any party in the Church of England had yet done, and their principles seemed to render possible a re-union with Rome. In this direction W. G. Ward, Fellow and Lecturer of Balliol College, went furthest. The Church of England, he said, is a branch of the Catholic Church and holds the Catholic faith in its entirety. The schism of the sixteenth century was a grievous sin, but in spite of it the Thirty-nine Articles must be held to contain Catholic doctrine, and if they do not contain it when construed in the natural sense, they must be construed in a non-natural. This position he defended in his *Ideal of a Christian Church considered in comparison with existing Practice*, which distressed many of the Tractarians and exasperated their opponents. As he would not retract when summoned before the Hebdomadal Board, his adversaries resolved that they would propose to Convocation a censure of Ward's book, the taking away of his degrees and a condemnation of Tract 90. Thus Ward, like Hampden, became the victim of a prosecution for heresy. What ensued is vividly described in one of Pattison's letters :—

"You remember what a morning Thursday was! Nothing to be seen but snow drifting through the streets. Yet through

all this 1000 M.A.'s had found their way from all remote parts—Mr. Clayton, e.g. from Newcastle—Elder from Durham—with many more who could ill afford it to Oxford by 1 o'clock, and long before that time the streets leading to the Theatre were well trodden by the stream of gowns of all colours and shades which the lumber closets of tailors and scouts had turned out for the occasion. Some, even, made their way into the Theatre without, and were obliged to borrow of their neighbours for the act of voting. None were admitted into the enclosure of the Schools but members of Convocation. These alone filled the area, the ladies' gallery, and left a good sprinkling for the Undergraduates' gallery. Well, no time was lost in preliminaries, but to it they went at once—Ward . . . went through the form of asking leave to speak in English and began his Address. The ordinary value of speeches before a deliberative assembly may be estimated very low—rarely is a vote either gained or lost by them. But much more weight was attached in men's expectation to what he might have to say—partly because however the majority might have come up with a party design, pledged to vote one way or the other, there was a sort of vague feeling that we were a jury met to judge a brother M.A., and not a deliberative chamber, and partly the whole thing was so novel, the mass of country clergy were so ignorant of the state of the question, the really strong technical ground on which W. took his stand was quite a surprize to them. Feeling how much then depended on how W. might acquit himself, I was on thorns the whole time (about three-quarters of an hour with two short pauses) from anxiety as to the impression he was making. . . . And first I very much missed anything like the tone of an *address*, or even of a debate—he spoke to the assembly as if we had been sitting there round the fire after dinner, and did not even attempt to connect what he had to say—but seemed to bring out one topic after another as they occurred to him. I should not say he maintained even this colloquial style *well*—he was fluent enough, but he repeated himself and was not very cautious in some expressions. He began by protesting against the jurisdiction of the Convocation in the case, and entered a formal protest against their decision, whatever it might be. He then

rested the whole weight of his defence on "my pamphlet," which, he said, was his case—and he therefore hoped that no one would be unfair enough to vote against him who had not read it—he did not intend to go over again *viva voce* the argument of that—but stated the ground he took and referred to the pamphlet for the arguments by which his ground was vindicated. . . . He repeated several times his full acquiescence in and acceptance of "every Roman doctrine." There were several faint incipient cheers while he was speaking, Dr. Hook setting the example first, but they were checked by W. himself at once in a very decided way. While we were proceeding to the voting . . . I was much reassured by finding that his Address had made a very favourable impression indeed as it turned out, a much more favourable one than I could have ventured to hope. It was not to be expected that it should affect many votes—yet several instances even of this came to my own knowledge—but it created a strong moral impression in our favour. Several M.A.'s then delivered protests against the proceedings—one made a short speech (all in Latin). You have had the numbers, however I report them here. On

Prop. 1 Placet 777.
Non-Pl. 386.

"On Prop. 2 Placet 569.
Non-Pl. 511 so that this which was the important point of the day was only carried by a majority of 58. The 3rd proposition—about Tract 90—was then put *pro forma* and vetoed by the Proctors, and the whole affair was ended by 5 o'clock. W. went out as soon as he had said his say, while the voting was going on—he was received with loud cheers by the crowd of undergraduates who had collected round the exterior gate, while the V.C. was very decorously but very unmistakeably hissed—one impudent dog even going so far as to hurl a snowball at the red sleeves."

The condemnation of Ward's book marked the close of that theological war which had raged so long and so fiercely in the University of Oxford. Within a few months Ward and several of his friends entered the Roman communion, and in October Newman followed their example. Enemies triumphed, for they had always said that Tractarian reasoning led logically to Rome.

The Tractarians were discouraged by the loss of their leader, divided between those who wished to follow Newman's example and those who clave to the Church of England, and irritated by the accusation of subtle and disingenuous dealing. Pattison, who adhered to the party some time longer, shared its discouragement.

His comments on the action of a friend who had joined the Church of Rome are interesting :—

"As to the action itself, I have nothing to say. Every person of religious views must naturally prefer the acknowledged Fellowship of the Saints to our, at best, dubious position—but it is time and circumstance that are so annoying. There seems to me something so selfish in thus providing for oneself and leaving one's friends (who are quite as fully alive to their critical condition) to shift for themselves—besides the additional embarrassment occasioned to them by the newspaper outcry upon the occasion. Every fresh convert, too, strengthens the belief that all that is to come of the whole business is a number of individual conversions. And to go to Oscott, too! It wouldn't be so bad if they did it at Rome."

Pattison, it should seem from an undated letter written apparently in 1845 or 1846, thought that he might possibly do likewise. He had been charged with persuading a relative to become a Romanist while he himself remained in the Church of England. He wrote :—

"If I was simply a Puseyite, the blind prejudice against that school is so well understood in Oxford that nothing would be urged against me with any effect on that ground—as things stand at present, any amount of Puseyism is indulged to a man provided it is understood he is firm in his position and not likely to go over—and, now the first shock is over which made everybody suspected, a line is beginning to be drawn between sure men and shaky, and among the very few of the latter class I know that I am reckoned. Thus you see I am debarred from what would so materially contribute to my defence in my cause, viz., an explicit assertion of my attachment to the Ch. of E. on Tractarian grounds."

How sensitive Pattison was to the suspicion of proselytism appears from a passage in another letter where he is speaking of a devout Lincoln undergraduate :—

"To my surprise he has been a regular attendant at daily prayers and the early communion all the Vacation—at Chapel during Term he has always been so, but that might have been out of obedience to College discipline. This has given me a great deal of pleasure—for, though I knew that the infection of Puseyism had lately penetrated even to L(incoln), and that there was a knot of our Undergraduates more or less well inclined, I had never seen much evidence of its having really laid hold of their minds and lives. I have never in any way encouraged them, and have most scrupulously abstained from mentioning the subject in conversation with them. To be sure, in a Greek Testament Lecture I *could* not give the heretical interpretation of the Text—but even there I have acted with the utmost possible extent of reserve—so that nothing of it is due directly to me."

That suspicions of proselytism, however unjust, were not unnatural is shown by the following account of a pupil named Guthrie, whose father had fallen into embarrassed circumstances and had been forced to withdraw him from Oxford :—

"I had taken no particular notice of him, and seen nothing of him, except in a tutorial capacity, since his illness—though I had every reason to retain the good opinion I had of his mind—but from his being such a child in the things of the world, and with so few ideas and not clever, he belonged to that class who cannot derive much benefit from personal intercourse, out of lecture hours, with a tutor. However, in his distress he sought me, partly for the necessary arrangements for his leaving and partly to receive my sympathy. I was perfectly astonished to find in one who seemed externally only an uneducated child, so much depth of feeling—so much character—and sound understanding. He was in terrible distress and could say but very little—too much afflicted, some would have thought, by a mere loss of fortune, but I respected him the more for this very reason as shewing that he understood in its full force what he had lost—there was no heroical enthusiasm braving the calamity—but a fixed and principled bearing up under a stroke whose cost he was well able to reckon—but if this surprised me, you may imagine my astonishment when, before quitting the room, he knelt down and begged my blessing. I really had thought that he wouldn't

have known what it meant, had it been offered to him. This led to some enquiry on my part when I saw him next—and, in short, it came out that this poor boy had without any guidance been leading a most strict and catholic life—had found his own way (this is still inexplicable to me) to the Breviary and been in the habit of reciting all the Day hours—not any of the imitations—but the genuine thing—that at home in the Long he had gone through the peculiar difficulties of houses in maintaining the rules of fasting, &c.—that he had gone into Edinburgh (10 miles) every Sunday to Church rather than go with the family to the Presbyterian place of worship. And, finally, that in his way down last summer he had visited Oscott, seen someone, Mr. Spencer I think and had much conversation with him—this, mind, was consequence not cause—and therefore no explanation of the whole. He is still bent on entering the Anglican ministry, and this it is which makes the chief weight of his misfortune. If I had the money, few things would give me greater pleasure than to enable him to do so, but it is perhaps better as it is, and it may be a special Providence reserving him for better things.

"I have given you this history at length, not only because I think it interesting in itself . . . but also because it is evident that, when he goes over (if he should), the blame and the credit will be laid on me, but . . . without my being the least entitled to either. So far from having led him towards Rome, I had despaired of leading his thoughts to the most obvious consideration of his own religious state. You see here enough happiness to make mine indeed a '*calix inebrians*' this Lent."

Pattison tells us in his *Memoirs* that he passed out of his Tractarian phase as he had passed into it, by insensible degrees. He would not in any case have followed Newman immediately into the Church of Rome. "I was not ready; I was always more deliberate" (*Memoirs*, p. 221). But he might have done so later, had not his mind been distracted by so much secular work. He took his tutorship we have seen, very seriously. A capable and inspiring teacher, he wielded a strong influence over the undergraduates, and raised the position of his College in the University. As time went on, he added to his tutorship the offices of Bursar and Sub-Rector. When theological controversy

had subsided, the ablest members of the University were left at leisure to note its imperfections, and to devise plans for its improvement. Thus there arose a party of academic reform which Pattison joined and which he zealously served for many years. All these new interests encroached upon the old. Not only did Pattison cease to think of going over to Rome, but he became a liberal theologian and contributed in after years to *Essays and Reviews*.

Pattison says in his *Memoirs* that, even when he was a Tractarian he remained a political Liberal. His political doctrine is fully stated in a letter of November, 1846 :—

"The fact that the principle of loyalty was productive for so long a period of such noble sentiments and lofty conduct must not, as it is too apt to do, deceive one into a belief in it. One cannot believe *both* the doctrine of right divine, as taught by the English divines of the seventeenth century, *and* the right of the Church to treat princes as the Popes did in their best times—one of them must have been wrong. The case seems to me to stand thus—All the meanness and selfishness in the kingdom was ranged on the side of the doctrine that was politically true—while all the chivalry and honour was wasted in the maintenance of a delusion—and it seems that this might be the punishment of our schism, that all the disinterested self-sacrifice which had once combated for a doctrine almost as old as the Apostles, and which still (1846) shews no sign of decay, and which, if true, is the cause of God, was seduced and enlisted in the service of a doctrine no older than Henry VIII, and now entirely extinct, unless it can be said to live in the innocent self-delusion of a few Puseyites, who persuade themselves that they feel the flames of loyalty for Victoria. I cannot but see that the doctrines of the Whigs, so far as they were a denial of tyranny disguised as 'prerogative,' are but the dictates of common sense as opposing the encroachments of pure theory—it is a monstrous theory, too, that millions of men are created for the sole use and pleasure of one man or one particular family—what I want in a governor is one to protect my life and property against the aggression of others, not one to use it for his own advantage—and after all there was as much party spirit on the Jacobite side—they were out of place

under George, but if James got in, they would have been in too. What they wanted was change of ministry as much as of King."

In a later letter he says :—

"You seem surprised to find that the 'jure divino' of the seventeenth century is a Protestant doctrine unknown to the Catholic Church. I do not mean that it was invented in Hen. VIII time, but, ascending in search of it, I do not know where any language of that tendency could be found till you come to the civilians of the Empire, by whom the servile flatteries addressed by the Senate to the successors of Augustus were reduced to form and dogma—indeed the best parallel of the adulatory addresses of Parliament to Eliz. and James would be found in those of the Patres to the early Emperors. These traditions of the civil law uniting with the assumption of so much of the Papal prerogative by Hen. VIII seem to be the component parts of the *jus divinum* of the courtier divines of the seventeenth century. It is an attempt to find in Christianity a groundwork for human ambitions, to give the sanction of Divine appointment to that manifestation of human might which happened to be uppermost in the state at the time of the Reformation."

Thus Pattison reconciled Tractarian theology with Whig politics. This reconciliation effected by few made less difficult his passing over into a general liberalism.

By the end of 1847 Pattison's Tractarian zeal was apparently cooling. Lord John Russell's choice of Dr. Hampden for the See of Hereford had excited so much ill-will among the clergy that thirteen bishops protested against the nomination. Russell made an unyielding reply which Pattison applauded.

"You will see, I suppose, Lord John Russell's letter to the bishops—nails them clean down to the counter like a bad half-crown (Dec. 14, 1847)."

The whole agitation he dismisses as "the Hampden row."

"I have taken no part whatever and have refused to sign any memorial either way—I should modify Mr. W.'s dictum that Hampden will make a good bishop into 'as good a one as most of them' (Dec. 29, 1847)."

Successful though he was in his College, he had his moments of weariness.

"I am very tired," he wrote in May, 1844, "of that most unprofitable work tutoring, not that I am hardworked—quite the contrary—I am sure I am very far from earning what I get—but I have no satisfaction in what I do."

When the Queen's Colleges in Ireland were founded by Sir Robert Peel, Pattison made formal application for the Chair of Modern History at Belfast, but with small hope of success and without result. Still he desired a change.

"I feel," he wrote, "symptoms of becoming weary of tuition, or rather a desire for literary occupation such as I used to delight in. . . . I have always felt that literature was my proper vocation."

Change came soon, although not in the form which he expected or desired. Old Dr. Radford, Rector of Lincoln College, died in October, 1851. Both by his ability and by his services to the College Pattison was marked out as his successor. At the suggestion of friends he offered himself for election, although he did not greatly desire the post. In a letter to his sister, written about this time, he compares the three possible alternatives to his actual situation, the College Rectorship, a comfortable country living, and what he terms the spiritual life, that is, a life free from all College work and wholly devoted to study, with no assured maintenance beyond his Fellowship. He dwells upon the disadvantages of the Rectorship in language which may surprise those who regard such offices as purely ornamental:—

"It is to surrender what I am convinced is my proper vocation for a life of trouble, anxiety, and harass—for results which will never be appreciated, and will be forgotten soon by those few who may appreciate them. I loathe the sort of society into which it would throw me. I have no talent for business, no tact for managing older men—and the one only line in which I could feel any confidence of success would be the educational, in raising and improving the character of the young men. But this, you see, is more within the sphere of the Tutor than the Rector—in fact my present position has been perfect and my success, such as it has been, must be set down much more to it than to myself."

The election of a Rector became a trial of strength between the party of routine and the party of improvement in Lincoln College. The contest was keen and Pattison's opponents stooped

to discreditable manœuvres which he has recorded in his *Memoirs*. Ultimately a certain Dr. Thompson, a man of no particular consequence, was elected. To complete Pattison's misfortune, it was found that he had forfeited his Fellowship by not taking the degree of Bachelor of Divinity within the time prescribed by the College Statutes. The College had petitioned the Visitor to restore Pattison, on the ground that his omission was not wilful, but the result of inadvertence. The Visitor had restored Pattison, but his enemies in the College talked of going to the Court of Queen's Bench and obtaining a *mandamus* for filling up his Fellowship. These circumstances explain the tone of despair in the last of these letters to his sister, dated Jan. 12, 1852 :—

" I am in a terrible scrape, and I believe my days in Lincoln are numbered—and, if so, my worldly career is closed, for I cannot begin again at my age. What an extraordinary reverse of fortune ! When I went down to Yorks. in July last, I was to all appearance the most thriving man in the University, and would not have changed places with any other man of my own standing. Now there is hardly a B.A. of three and twenty whose prospects are not better than mine. I fear it is too true and that my Fellowship is gone, and with it all the position and consideration which it has cost me twenty years to acquire. The depression of mind has been so great that it has made me quite ill."

No further proceedings were taken and Pattison kept his Fellowship. But the new Rector sought to impose conditions on Pattison as Tutor which he deemed intolerable. He resigned his Tutorship. How he recovered health and spirits, and settled down to fruitful labour is told in the *Memoirs*.

A REVIEW AND OTHER WRITINGS BY CHARLES DICKENS.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY
BY MOSES TYSON, M.A., PH.D.,
KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

FROM time to time new material relating to the life and works of Charles Dickens is brought to light, either in the form of manuscripts in his hand or of letters written by him or to him, but there still remains much that we would like to know about the activities of Dickens both as a reporter and an editor. Many of his contributions, for instance, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* and other papers with which he was connected, will probably never be identified. Occasionally, however, clues are discovered which make it possible to associate his name with articles not previously recognised as his work. Several letters, taken from the collection in the Rylands Library, may interest ardent Dickensians, in that they provide material for investigation and also reveal Dickens the editor.

On August 22, 1836, he agreed to undertake the editorship of a monthly magazine which was to start publication the following January. This magazine was Bentley's *Miscellany*, of which Dickens was editor until the appearance of the last part of *Oliver Twist* in March, 1839. The following letter shows Dickens performing one of the less pleasant duties which fall to an editor's lot. It is to Mrs. Baron Wilson, and bears no date, but is simply headed "Doughty Street, Monday Morning":

MY DEAR MADAM,

I have been waiting for my printer's report. We are so very crowded that I cannot possibly avail myself of your daughter's lines.

I have no concern with, or controul over, the money affairs of the Miscellany which rest entirely with Bentley. If you write to him, stating that you consider yourself

under-paid and usually receive more, I have not the slightest doubt that he will immediately do what you require.

I am, Dear Madam,
Faithfully Yours,
CHARLES DICKENS.

Mrs. Cornwell Baron Wilson was a versatile writer, who attracted some attention by her poems, plays, novels, and biographical works. In a later letter to her, dated April 14, 1840, Dickens wrote :

> Accept my best thanks for your charming volume,—and trust me, that the Elegiac Stanzas in particular have lost none of their interest or beauty in my eyes, but that they are, and will always be, together with your kind feeling at that time, fresh in my recollection.

The following note is to Richard Bentley. It is headed " Doughty Street, Friday Morning," and was evidently written towards the end of 1838 :

MY DEAR SIR,

> The Rabelais article accompanies this. Will you oblige me with two or three copies of Oliver with the amended title page, and new plate? My list of presentations among friends and relatives (not book-buyers I am sorry to say) is a long one.

Faithfully Yours,
CHARLES DICKENS.

It would be interesting to have more information upon the " Rabelais article " here mentioned.

Two other letters may be given. The later in date, which it is more convenient to deal with first, is to George Hogarth. Hogarth was the father-in-law of Dickens, and served as a writer on political and musical subjects on the staff of the *Morning Chronicle*. He appears to have taken a considerable part in its management and also in that of the *Evening Chronicle*. The letter is concerned with the forthcoming appearance of the *Daily News*. The first number of this paper appeared on January 21, 1846, under the editorship of Dickens. Hogarth was musical and dramatic critic, a position which he retained until 1866.

Devonshire Terrace,
Nineteenth November, 1845.

My Dear Hogarth,

I shall be delighted to put you on for Music and a general liability to Theatres, at five Guineas a week. I consider that done.

But I confess I feel a greater difficulty about the time and manner of your leaving the Chronicle (after your recent return) than *you* seem to entertain. I have a doubt whether it might not be best to leave the matter as it stands, at all events until Easthope [1] and the Chronicle people generally shall have seen the announcement of the New Paper—which will be out in a day or two. Surely it would be more agreeable, now, if you could bring them by such means to originate the idea of your leaving them.

Faithfully yours always,
Charles Dickens.

George Hogarth, Esquire.

The second letter is to Charles Mackay, who, between the years 1835 and 1844, was acting assistant sub-editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

My Dear Sir,

Here is a review I promised to write (sub rosa) of Lord Londonderry's Letter, just now published. Will you kindly ask Hogarth, for me, to read the proof very carefully; as the Printers (unmindful of our old acquaintance) maimed my last communication, most surgically.

I have been *going*, every day, to write you about the Miltonians. I will, in a day or two. I cannot make up my mind that the thing would do—not by reason of any defects of its own, but because of its jarring materials.

Faithfully Yours always,
Charles Dickens.

Charles Mackay, Esquire,
M.C. Office,
Wednesday Night.

[1] Sir John Easthope was the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle* at this time.

The reference to the "Miltonians" provides us with yet another problem. Happily the manuscript of the review of Lord Londonderry's Letter has survived along with the letter from Dickens. This letter was evidently written in 1842, the year in which was published a pamphlet with the title, *A Letter to Lord Ashley, M.P., on the Mines and Collieries' Bill*, by Charles William Stewart (afterwards Vane), third Marquess of Londonderry. It has been thought worth while to print the review in full from the manuscript of Dickens. He had not long returned from his first visit to America, but probably had already begun to write a number of articles, which were to attract so much attention that at the beginning of 1844 the proprietors of the paper were anxious to come to terms for regular contributions. Forster, in the chapter of his *Life of Dickens* dealing with the early part of 1844, wrote "Thus we see that the old radical leanings were again rather strong in him at present, and I may add that he had found occasional recent vent for them by writing in the *Morning Chronicle*."

Lord Londonderry's pamphlet was of a character to bring down upon the noble author the contemptuous sarcasm of his reviewer, and a much abler writer than Londonderry would have received short shrift had he ventured into print as the opponent of Lord Ashley in such matters. The philanthropic work of Antony Ashley Cooper, later seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, is too well known to require much comment here. It is sufficient to note that in his attacks on social abuses his efforts to improve the lot of the workers in mills and factories were accompanied by similar efforts directed against the appalling conditions of employment, especially with regard to women and children, in collieries and mines. No reader of the works of Dickens will question the whole-hearted approval with which he regarded such efforts.[1]

Londonderry, on the other hand, was a leading opponent of reform and a mine-owner, and was extremely unpopular. In view

[1] The "good Earl of Shaftesbury" was also a great admirer of Dickens, and a passage in his Diary for 1871 runs: "God gave him, as I wrote to Forster, a general retainer against all suffering and oppression." See also J. W. T. Ley, *The Dickens Circle* (London, 1918), pp. 167-169.

My dear Sir

Here is a review I promised to write (substituted) of Lord Londonderry's letter, just now published. Will you kindly ask Hogarth for me, to read the proof very carefully; as the Printers (unused but of our old acquaintance) misread my last communication, most tragically.

I have been long, very long, to write you about the Historians. I will, in a day or two. I cannot make up my mind that the King must do. not by reason of any defects of his own, but by reason of its living materials.

Faithfully Yours always

Charles Dickens

Charles Mackay Esqr

&c. &c. &c.

Monday

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM CHARLES DICKENS TO CHARLES MACKAY IN 1854.

of the personal nature of the attacks in the review, it seems only just to say that he had proved himself a gallant officer in action, and revealed abilities of another kind in his development of the Seaham estate by the opening up of collieries and by the construction of a harbour and a railway. When in 1835 he was appointed Ambassador at St. Petersburg, his great unpopularity resulted in such an outcry that he was compelled to resign. The following account in Greville's *Journal of the reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* shows that he had not been entirely unfitted for the position :

> " In the evening I met the Duke of Wellington at Lady Howe's, who talked about the affair, and said that he was not particularly partial to the man, nor ever had been ; but that he was very fit for that post, was an excellent Ambassador, procured more information, and obtained more insight into the affairs of a foreign court than anybody, and that he was the best relater of what passed at a conference, and wrote the best account of a conversation, of any man he knew. I said this might be all true, but that though *he* knew it, the generality of people did not, and the public could only judge of him by what they heard or read of his speeches, and what was related of his conduct on former occasions ; that on that account he was very obnoxious, and that his violent and intemperate attacks upon the foreign policy of the late Government, the sentiments he had displayed generally, had raised a great prejudice against him, and I had therefore been sure from the moment I heard of the appointment that it would be severely attacked, and regretted exceedingly for that reason that it had ever been made."

The book of travels by Londonderry which is referred to in the following review is probably *A Steam Voyage to Constantinople by the Rhine and Danube in 1840-41, and to Portugal, Spain, etc., in 1839*, which appeared in two volumes in 1842. He had previously written two other travel books, *Journal of a Tour in the Southern Parts of Spain, etc.*," privately printed in 1840, and

Recollections of a Tour in the North of Europe in 1836-37, published in two volumes in 1838.

In printing the review it has been thought worth while to give in footnotes any words crossed through in the manuscript which may still be deciphered, in order to show the care with which Dickens prepared his articles for the Press.

A Letter to Lord Ashley, M.P., on the Mines and Collieries Bill. By C. W. Vane, Marquess of Londonderry, G.C.B.—Colburn.[1]

The Marquess of Londonderry has recently [2] distinguished himself by the production of a book of travels which for its exquisite good taste, its surpassing modesty, its high gentlemanly feeling, its extensive information,[3] and its numerous beauties of style and composition [4] has no companion in the Literature of any age or country. The Marquess of Londonderry has now still further distinguished himself by the production of a pamphlet, entitled as above, which in respect of all these points of excellence [5] goes so far beyond the Book of travels,[6] that even that panting precedent toils after it in vain, and not even Lord Londonderry's self can be cited as Lord Londonderry's parallel.

As it is one of the most charming and graceful characteristics of this remarkable [7] production that it has no one thought,[8] or argument, or line of reasoning, in its whole compass, but is entirely devoted to the display of its noble author's exquisite taste and extreme felicity of expression (which might, by carping

[1] " Bourgeois " is written in another hand at the head of the page as a direction to the compositor.

[2] " has recently " *and* " latel " *crossed through.*

[3] " is quite unparalleled in the literature of any country : while " *crossed through.*

[4] " would have done honor to the king and the extraordinary acquaintance it displays is (perfectly) quite unparalleled " *crossed through.* The king referred to in this cancelled passage was probably the King of the Sandwich Islands (see below). In 1824 King Liholiho and his Queen paid a visit to England. Both were taken ill with measles and died here.

[5] " even outdoes " *crossed through.*

[6] " and places him at the very head and summit, that even his panting self toils after it in vain, and not even London is Londonderry's parallel. One of the most winning and charming " *crossed through.*

[7] " pamphlet " *crossed through.*

[8] " argument " *crossed through.*

Bungay /

A letter to Lord Ashley, M.P. on the mines and collieries Bill.

By C. W. Vane Marquess of Londonderry. G. C. B. — Colburn.

The Marquess of Londonderry has distinguished himself by the production of a book of Travels which for its exquisite taste and good taste is an amazing model of high gentlemanly feeling and [illegible] information and numerous touches of style and composition which have made the first and most delightful [illegible] in the literature of any age or country. The Marquess of Londonderry has now added further distinguished honour to his production of a pamphlet, entitled as above which in respect of all these kinds of excellence [illegible] goes far beyond the Book of Travels. That pamphlet [illegible] and may be considered as the very best [illegible] and not less [illegible] than the Travels [illegible] as a lord and [illegible] Marquess [illegible] and in point of taste and writing and thinking

as it is one of the most charming and graceful characteristics of this remarkable production that it has no one argument, or argument, or line of reasoning, in its whole compass, but is [illegible] display of its noble author's exquisite taste and extreme delicacy of expression [illegible] to object to or blemish; the mind being already possessed of [illegible] information on these points / we may be pardoned if we [illegible] the principal topics of [illegible] and insufficient [illegible] Marquess [illegible] Reference [illegible] of these But first we deem it our duty to [illegible] and poor need of praise of the noble and accomplished Marquess for [illegible] his sentiments [illegible] in this form / and not upon the floor of the House of Lords. The desiring of speeches [illegible] pamphlets, [illegible] is a practice which cannot be too strongly commended. It [illegible] is an economy of the public time; an encouragement to the printing, publishing, and paper trade; and an [illegible] of the orator in his own proper dress, unbedizened by any of those shreds and [illegible] of style and [illegible] grammar, with which Parliamentary reporters [illegible] the [illegible]

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE REVIEW BY CHARLES DICKENS OF A PAMPHLET BY THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

critics, be objected to as a blemish; the world being already possessed of [1] ample information on these two points) we may be pardoned if we [2] make them the principal topics of [3] our brief and insufficient [4] homage. But first [5] it becomes our grateful duty to render our poor meed of praise to the noble and accomplished Marquess for expressing his sentiments in this form, and not upon the floor of the House of Lords. The delivery of speeches in [6] pamphlets [7] is a practice which cannot be too strongly commended. It [8] is at once an economy of the public time; an encouragement to the printing, publishing, and paper trade; and an interesting exhibition of the orator in his own proper dress, undisguised by any of those shreds [9] of style and grammar, with which Parliamentary reporters [10] love to [11] deck him out; to the great detriment and injury of such a nobleman of nature as [12] the most noble the Marquess of Londonderry.[13]

It is scarcely necessary to mention that, in reference to the Mines and Collieries Bill (as we learn from this letter) everybody was wrong [14] except the Marquess of Londonderry; because

[1] " voluminous " *crossed through.* [2] " seek them out " *crossed through.*
[3] " this slight " *crossed through.*
[4] " notice. But first glancing, however, at the " *crossed through.*
[5] " we deem it our duty to " *originally.* [6] " print " *crossed through.*
[7] " like the delivery of evidence " *crossed through.*
[8] " saves the " *crossed through.* [9] " and style " *crossed through.*
[10] " are in the " *crossed through.* [11] " dress " *crossed through.*
[12] " him to whom we have to " *crossed through.*
[13] " Nor can we too much exalt the grand simplicity, with which the noble Marquess, dating his letter ' to the Right Honorable Lord Ashley, M.P.,' from Wynyard Park, and beginning it ' My Lord,' and ending it ' My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,' in strict accordance with the forms presented in every genuine edition of the Polite Letter Writer, gradually slides (into the debating forms), as he warms with the delivery of this printed speech, into the debating customs of the House of Peers, and (writes ' It is ') does so in such passages as—' it is not necessary to say more to Your Lordships ' and ' I have now to point out to Your Lordships ' and ' it appears, My Lords, evident to me ' and so forth (which is at once easy, artless, the very perfection of easy art). In like manner we have seen young gentlemen, newly (called) summoned to the benches of the House of Commons, address the chairman of a Charity Dinner at Freemason's Hall as ' Mr. Speaker,' and always with a (good) strong effect upon their audience " *crossed through.*
[14] " but " *crossed through.*

whenever[1] there is one intellect so vastly in advance of the rest of the world as the Marquess of Londonderry's is universally felt and admitted by all men to be, this result will inevitably follow.[2] Forgetful for an instant, of this circumstance, we had expected to find that Lord Ashley was particularly, if not exclusively in the wrong, and were at first somewhat surprised to[3] discover that he had for his colleagues in evil doing the Earl of Devon, Lord Hatherton, the whole House of Commons, every member of the present government from the Prime Minister downwards, and even the Duke of Hamilton; but a moment's reflection upon the stupendous character of Lord Londonderry's[4] mind set us right, and shewed us, not only that this was quite intelligible, but that it must be, and[5] is inseparable from the existence of such a Triton among the minnows of creation as this most noble Marquess, "whose humble services," as he observes, "are before the public and Europe," and whose consolation, under all the[6] Lillupitian (*sic*) arrows aimed at his mighty head by pigmies, is to be found "in the recorded testimonials of great and enlightened warriors and statesmen" —which are[7] neatly framed and glazed, at Wynyard Park, and may be seen on application to the housekeeper any Wednesday afternoon between the hours of two and four o'Clock.[8]

We have said that our first head of remark should be, Lord Londonderry's exquisite good taste. There are so many instances of it in the short compass of the one hundred and forty five pages to which this pamphlet extends, that we are rather puzzled which to adduce as a specimen; but perhaps the refined and witty attack on MR. HORNER,[9] a prominent member of the Children's Employment Commission, and a gentleman well known to the public for his valuable and zealous services in the cause of Humanity, and Human Improvement, is the best.

[1] "when there" *crossed through.*
[2] "Forgetting for an instant" *crossed through.*
[3] "find" *crossed through.*
[4] "mind" *and* "genius" *crossed through.*
[5] "was indispensable from the Laws of Nature, and the design of creation, in" *crossed through.*
[6] "feeble attacks of and injuries" *crossed through.*
[7] "kept" *crossed through.*
[8] "To proceed" *crossed through.*
[9] "one of the commissioners on mines and collieries" *crossed through.*

The cutting humour, and [1] bitter sarcasm, of printing in large capitals "EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS, SHEWING MR. HORNER'S VINDICTIVENESS, HIS QUARRELSOME DISPOSITION, HIS LACK OF MORAL COURAGE, ETC.," is in the spirit of [2] true manly nobility, and if Lord Londonderry were not already "most noble" by courtesy, we should have ventured to suggest that he be called so, to distinguish him, in after ages, from less notable inheritors, of [3] his title; as society, conferring distinctions of its own on [4] honors which descend from a great,[5] great, grandfather to a small, small grandson, is wont to say, the Great Duke of Marlborough, or the famous Lord Nelson.

The mention of Doctor Southwood Smith,[6] in a single line, as "another commissioner *and an Unitarian*" is also full of generous point and purpose. So is the following passage, which,[7] in its reference to some talk [8] that may have been held among the footmen in the waiting-room of the House of Lords,[9] touching the Earl of Shaftesbury or his plush-breeched representative in the Servants' Parliament, is almost worthy of [10] Mrs. Honour.

"*It was said* that one noble Earl (and a very important person to your Lordship too) declared in an assembly, 'That he knew better than to undertake the fathering of such a bill as yours, through the Lords.' How well His Lordship knew the House of Lords!"

Doubtless [11] very well indeed, and [12] not the less intimately by reason of his long experience as chairman of its Committees. If the Earl of Shaftesbury,[13] or the Earl of Shaftesbury's footman ever did say [14] anything to this purpose, he spoke wisely.[15] All

[1] "gentle and gentlemanly" *crossed through.*
[2] "the truest nobility and" *crossed through.*
[3] "the" *crossed through.*
[4] "titles" *crossed through.*
[5] "grandf" *crossed through.*
[6] "as another" *crossed through.*
[7] "is almost worthy of Mrs. Honour" *crossed through.*
[8] "among" *crossed through.*
[9] "concerning" *crossed through.*
[10] "Mrs. Honour. 'It was said' that one noble Earl" *crossed through.*
[11] "Very well in" *crossed through.*
[12] "the" *crossed through.*
[13] "ever did say" *crossed through.*
[14] "this" *crossed through.*
[15] "Near" *crossed through.*

measures which have for [1] their object the improvement of the popular condition, or the elevation of the popular character, are very troublesome children to their fathers in the House of Lords. They cost a world of trouble in the bringing up; and are, for the most part, strangled by the Herods of the Peerage, in their [2] cradles.

Lord Londonderry takes credit to himself in this letter for "generously pointing out," that there was no clause in the bill [3] obliging the coal-owners to find the means of sending the Inspectors down into the pits; and that if [4] an Inspector were sent down into a mine,[5] he might, for any means the bill afforded [6] him of coming up, be left there by the owner.[7] On reference to the debate of the first of August, it will be found that the noble Marquess and elegant author expressed himself to this effect. "For his part, if an Inspector came to *him*, and asked permission to inspect *his* works, he should say 'get down how you can; but when you get down, you may get back how you can'"—which speech, and which reference, are at once tasteful, generous, pleasant, and whimsical.

The "disgusting pictorial woodcuts" which accompanied the report still haunt the nobleman of taste, who complains "that they were seen in the *salons* of the Capital, and that the ladies were all enlisted in the cause of their own sex, thus represented in so brutal a manner." [8] And to be sure it was a sad depravity of taste to pity them, and in the very worst taste for any lady or gentleman to look [9] into the rooms at Wynyard Park, and see those brutal forms [10] reflected in the glittering plate, and polished furniture, and [11] even bordering, in fantastic patterns, the pages of the bankers book [12] of the most noble the Marquess of Londonderry, in account with Coutts and Co.[13]

[1] "the obj" *crossed through.* [2] "very" *crossed through.*
[3] "to compel" *crossed through.*
[4] "they did send them" *crossed through.* [5] "they" *crossed through.*
[6] "them" *crossed through.* [7] "for the rest of his days" *crossed through.*
[8] "That they worked in that brutal manner from day to day and year to year was nothing at all" *crossed through*
[9] "towards" *crossed through.* [10] "figures glittering" *crossed through.*
[11] "forming" *crossed through.* [12] "wherein was stated" *crossed through.*
[13] "Of the numerous samples of happy" *crossed through.*

But our space is limited, and some few happy turns of expression and elegancies of composition should be extracted, as a sample of the rest. They may prove useful, too, as exercises for [1] charity boys [2] in their first quarter.

The following paragraph [3] is hardly less admirable for [4] beauty of construction [5] and remarkable clearness and vigour of style, than for the profound philosophy of its sentiment:

> "Before I conclude this letter, I shall develope my own views as contradistinguished from your Lordship's as to the impolicy of legislative interference with the management and labouring classes working the mines and collieries of England; and although I do not imagine I can alter the sentiments of those who, led astray by false reports, allow themselves to be guided by the representations of unqualified and ignorant authorities, nor of those who seek to build their fame on a new species of modern philosophy, by raising the standard of mistaken humanity, and advocating the theories of general education and overstrained morality, and still less by those who, in their excited and exalted enthusiasm, *forget that men are not all born to read and write, but that they must obtain by the sweat of their brow the food for the mouth as well as the mind.*[6] From such as these, I look not for converts; but I flatter myself I shall be able to afford the public and the unprejudiced world such information upon the subject now at issue between us, as will remove many of the absurd and exaggerated statements your Lordship and the Commissioners' Reports have put forth."

That [7] all men are not born to read and write, is a very wise and profound remark. It is full of truth. There be Lords who are not born to write [8] one correct sentence in the language of the country they have represented abroad; and who, if they be born to read at all, are born to be never the better for it.

[1] "the younger" *crossed through.* [2] "whose education h" *crossed through.*
[3] "too" *crossed through.* [4] "its" *crossed through.*
[5] "its sound good sense, its remarkably clear and vigorous style" *originally.*
[6] Underlined for italics by Dickens.
[7] "refinement on the doctrine of predestination which foredooms a sin to find food for her mind" *crossed through.*
[8] "grammar" *crossed through.*

Here[1] are two sentences, which for[2] their terseness, strength, and perspicuity,[3] might have been written by SWIFT:

> "Lord Devon, I understand, on perusing the Bill, as sent up from the Commons, contemplated and saw all its probable effect with dismay; but his Lordship was pleased with the field it afforded for his able and experienced pruning-knife, to undertake its management. And he then took those measures in private conference with your Lordship, to modify, change, and alter the clauses in such a manner as to render them innocuous, and no longer bearing the semblance of their first character: all this happened, as the preface to the noble Earl's moving the second reading of the Bill."

Another:

> "Here, then, is the end of your Lordship's bantling, dressed in your swaddling-clothes, it was stripped and despoiled before you took it back to your nursery, where you were doomed to accept it naked and deformed, not cognisable by its own parent, while its enemies had the satisfaction of contemplating its creation and its fall as perfectly harmless and inoperative."

Another,[4] unequalled, perhaps,[5] save in the[6] earliest English Exercises of the King of the Sandwich Islands, penned when he first took lodgings at the Adelphi Hotel, and began to study the language:

> "As this Bill was brought in originally, it would have revolutionised the coal-trade, and vitally affect many of the working classes."

Another, of singular beauty:

> "Up to the age of *ten* allows sufficient time to acquire the rudiments of education on which to build in future, when occasion may require."

[1] " is another fine (?) sentence " *originally.* [2] " its " *crossed through.*
[3] " is unequalled " *crossed through.*
[4] " which might have been written by " *crossed through.*
[5] " unless " *crossed through.* [6] " early MSS. of " *crossed through.*

The following is a passage from a letter received by the noble author, containing, as he says, "many good observations"; and signed "A Trapper Boy." It is so [1] obviously the writing of a trapper boy, and is so very interesting in that view for its simple artlessness, that it is worth attention. The allusion to the *piscina* is particularly natural, for it is well known [2] that trapper boys are always thinking of [3] piscinae, and from their earliest infancy constantly ruminate, at the bottoms of mines, in the Latin tongue:

> "Without waiting to notice the Commissioners' exceedingly exaggerated Report, or to call in question the benevolent intentions of many of those gentlemen to whom the Commissioner has had access, and from whom he has collected so many observations, I would beg leave to say, that the legislative enactment now under consideration will present something like the Vicar's '*piscina*,' completely choking up the conduit-pipes through which the stream of charity has flowed to many an indigent family for many years."

Again:

> "Is it possible then that your Lordships should place such implicit confidence in the Commissioners' report now on your Lordships' table, when you consider how and by whom it has been constructed, and be induced to legislate on and create these new authorities over private property, without *creditable* [4] and proper evidence, and the examination of practical men?"

To this piece of writing, however, we cannot award the praise of originality. Both [5] Winifred Jenkins and Mrs. Malaprop use "creditable" for "credible." So do hackney coachmen frequently, and costermongers always.[6]

But in one of the noble author's concluding remarks, we thoroughly concur. It is, that the subject has been handled

[1] "evidently" *crossed through.*
[2] "that a piscina" *crossed through.*
[3] "piscinas" *crossed through.*
[4] Underlined for italics by Dickens.
[5] "Mrs. Malaprop and" *crossed through.*
[6] "But in the noble" *crossed through.*

with great indecency, and is disfigured,[1] by a vast amount of most reprehensible and disgraceful blunders. There is no doubt whatever of the fact ;[2] Lord Londonderry's own evidence in regard to it, being quite irresistible.[3]

There are only fourteen original pages in[4] the whole one hundred and forty five[5] of this letter ; the remainder being devoted to a recapitulation of the[6] discussions on the mines and collieries bill in the House of Lords, with an improved edition of the[7] noble author's speeches in the front row.[8] We have been in some pain lest from the excessive scantiness of its materials it may not be destined to answer the expectations, either of the noble Marquess, its author, or Mr. Colburn, its publisher ; but[9] one mode of proceeding has[10] after some reflection occurred to us, which we venture to suggest, as being full of promise and prospective advantage to both.

It is simply this :—that the one hundred and thirty one pages[11] of old matter should be summarily cancelled, and that the remaining fourteen should be distributed over a[12] tolerably large number of very small sheets, and published at a cheap price under the name of The New Polite Letter Writer, or Noble Scholar's Companion.[13]

Formerly there used to be displayed in certain shop-windows[14] a Sixpenny Letter Writer with a highly colored frontispiece, representing a lady in a blue riding habit,[15] holding above her head a red smear[16] for a parasol, entering a bookseller's place of business, and saying :

> A Letter Writer, if you please,
> That I may learn to write with ease :

[1] " and is disfigured " *crossed through.*
[2] " and we appeal " *crossed through.*
[3] " is of it " *and* " is " *crossed through.*
[4] " his " *crossed through.*
[5] " devoted to " *crossed through.*
[6] " proceedings " *crossed through.*
[7] " most " *crossed through.*
[8] " and we have been in (at) some " *crossed through.*
[9] " if as we think we have hit upon a plan, there is one " *crossed through.*
[10] " occu " *crossed through.*
[11] " which " *crossed through.*
[12] " large " *crossed through.*
[13] " There was former " *crossed through.*
[14] " shops and shop " *crossed through.*
[15] " with " *crossed through.*
[16] " by one of " *crossed through.*

To which a [1] grave and wealthy citizen behind the counter, clad in a light blue coat and yellow small-clothes, and politely holding forth a [2] book as he spoke, replied :

> Globwog's Edition is the best ;
> I sell more o' that, than all the rest.

Now,[3] in the present case, with a new Globwog in the costume of the [4] day [5] offering this [6] Polite Letter Writer of Lord Londonderry's to any noble Lord in search of the means of honorable distinction,[7] an illustration in the same style, would tell exceedingly well. And he might be represented as saying—not even in verse, but in plain prose—" The [8] Vane Edition is the one, My Lord. There is no Letter Writer, but the Vane Letter Writer. The author is a person of quality, My Lord. He has had every [9] possible advantage in the way of station and education [10] ; he entertains a high contempt for everything that is not [11] polite and lofty : [12] his bear never dances but to the genteelest of tunes ; and here you behold his truly [13] refined feeling, and his truly English Grammar,[14] all condensed within the limits of one little book, price sixpence." And if any additional recommendation were wanting, H. B.[15] might furnish a vignette representing the most noble the Marquess of Londonderry ; in the character of that [16] stalwart knight, referred to by Don Quixote who stopped a windmill with his little finger ; [17] stemming the tide of public indignation and compassionate remembrance of the wronged and suffering many, with his gray goose-quill.

[1] " respect " *and* " portly " *crossed through.* [2] " small " *crossed through.*
[3] " if H. B. with " *crossed through.* H.B. was the signature of John Doyle, the well-known caricaturist.
[4] " present " *crossed through.*
[5] " who might be a faithful portrait of the Marquess of Londonderry " *crossed through.*
[6] " book " *crossed through.* [7] " a similar illus " *crossed through.*
[8] " Lon " *crossed through.* [9] " natural " *crossed through.*
[10] " and produces what " *crossed through.*
[11] " either genteel " *crossed through.*
[12] " he (———) everything " *crossed through.*
[13] " English " *crossed through.* [14] " in the " *crossed through.*
[15] See above. [16] " chivalrous " *crossed through.* [17] ?.

A List of the Letters and Manuscripts of Charles Dickens which are now in The John Rylands Library.

The letters and manuscripts of Charles Dickens, which are listed below, have been acquired from various sources. They cover a long period. The earliest in date is a letter referring to the writing of "Pickwick," while the latest is the manuscript of the last public speech of Dickens, delivered at the Royal Academy dinner on April 30, 1870.

A number of the letters have appeared in print, others have not as yet been made public. This list gives the names of the persons to whom the letters were written, the places where the letters were written, and the dates of writing.

The first group, now mounted and bound in a volume, consists of the following letters, addressed, with three exceptions, to Mrs. Gaskell:

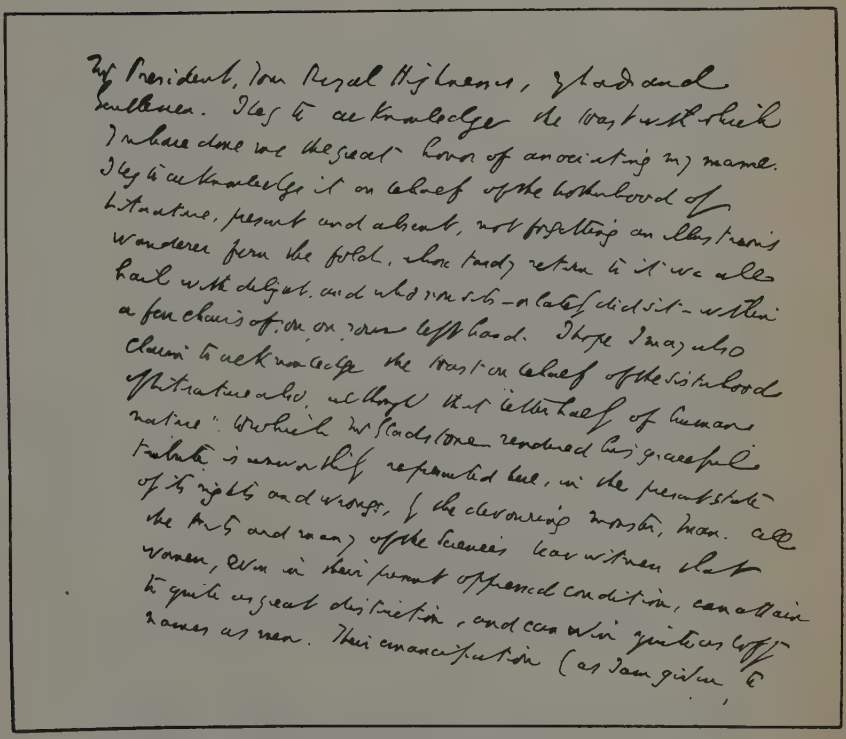
(1) Devonshire Terrace. January 31, 1850. With envelope.
(2) 148 King's Road, Brighton. March 14, 1850. With envelope.
(3) Devonshire Terrace. July 3, 1850. Signature cut away.
(4) Devonshire Terrace. December 20, 1850. With envelope.
(5) Tavistock House. November 25, 1851. This begins: "My Dear Scheherazade."
(6) Tavistock House. December 5, 1851.
(7) Tavistock House. December 21, 1851.
(8) Tavistock House. January 24, 1852.
(9) Tavistock House (Silver Street, Golden Square, California). February 25, 1852.
(10) Tavistock House. November 6, 1852.
(11) Tavistock House. November 9, 1852.
(12) Office of Household Words. December 1, 1852.
(13) Tavistock House. December 17, 1852. With envelope.
(14) Tavistock House. April 10, 1853. To the Rev. William Gaskell. With envelope.
(15) Tavistock House. April 13, 1853. With envelope.
(16) Tavistock House. May 3, 1853.
(17) Household Words. September 19, 1853.
(18) Tavistock House. February 5, 1854. To the Rev. William Gaskell. With envelope.
(19) Tavistock House. February 18, 1854.
(20) Tavistock House. April 21, 1854.
(21) Tavistock House. June 16-17, 1854.
(22) Villa du Camp de droite, Boulogne. July 26, 1854.
(23) Villa du Camp de droite, Boulogne. July 31, 1854.

(24) Villa du Camp de droite, Boulogne. August 17, 1854. With envelope.
(25) Villa du Camp de droite, Boulogne. August 20, 1854.
(26) Office of Household Words. January 22, 1855. This was not written by Dickens, but by W. H. Wills.
(27) Tavistock House. January 27, 1855. With envelope.
(28) Tavistock House. February 1, 1855.
(29) Tavistock House. December 20, 1859. With envelope.
(30) Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, 27, Paris. December 18, 1862. To the Rev. William Gaskell. With envelope.

The second large group has been inserted, along with several manuscripts of Dickens and a large number of other letters, prints, and other materials, in an extra-illustrated copy of Forster's *Life of Dickens*. This copy was briefly described in *The World* on July 10, 1878, by a writer who had seen it on sale in the bookshop of Mr. Francis Harvey, at No. 4 St. James's Street. It contains the following letters from Dickens:

(1) To J(ohn) P(ritt) Harley, Esqre, Saint James's Theatre, from Furnival's Inn. Thursday Evening. This refers to "Pickwick," *The Village Coquettes*, and *The Strange Gentleman*.
(2) To the same (?) from Furnival's Inn. Tuesday Evening. A request to second the proposal of Dickens as a member of the Garrick Club.
(3) To the same from Furnival's Inn. Friday evening. This refers to Mrs. Braham.
(4) To Mrs. Baron Wilson, from Doughty Street. Monday Morning.
(5) To Harley, from Doughty Street. Saturday Morning. This refers to a dinner with "George Cruikshank and his wife, and Burnett and his'n."
(6) To Richard Bentley, Esquire, from Doughty Street. Friday Morning.
(7) To Harley, from Doughty Street. Thursday Morning. (Feb. 7, 1839.)
(8) To the same from Elm Cottage, Petersham, near Richmond. June 28, 1839. This refers to Maclise.
(9) To Leitch Ritchie, Esquire, from 1 Devonshire Terrace, York Gate, Regents Park. April The Twenty Seventh. This refers to the "Clock" and Mrs. Macrone's benefit volume (*The Picnic Papers*).
(10) To Mrs. Cornwell Baron Wilson, from 1 Devonshire Terrace, York Gate. April 14, 1840.
(11) To Thomas Mitton, Esquire, from Devonshire Terrace. Tuesday, 18th August.
(12) To —— from Devonshire Terrace. Monday Night. Nov. 30, 1840. This refers to the "Barnaby Notice."
(13) To (Angus) Fletcher, from Devonshire Terrace. Thursday. April 8, 1841. This refers to his forthcoming journey to Edinburgh, Lord Jeffrey's enthusiasm for *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and a new bust.

(14) To Frederick Dickens, Esquire, from Devonshire Terrace. July 26, 1842.
(15) To Mr. Cooke, from Devonshire Terrace. Thursday Evening. Dec. 15, 1842.
(16) To Frederick (Dickens), from Devonshire Terrace. May 2, 1843.
(17) To Louis Roche, from Devonshire Terrace. Wednesday. May 15, 1844. This refers to his engagement by Dickens.
(18) To Frederick (Dickens), from Osnaburgh Terrace. June 28, 1844. This refers to Forster, also " I wish you would get me a bottle of dye for my unprecedented moustache, at the Baron's in Regent Street, or some such good place."
(19) To the same, from Devonshire Terrace. Saturday. This refers to George Cattermole, who " plays Wellbred on a short notice."
(20) To George Hogarth, Esquire, from Devonshire Terrace. Nov. 19, 1845.
(21) To Charles Cochrane, Esquire, from Devonshire Terrace. Monday Morning. Mar. 30, 1846. This refers to " The Poor Man's Guardian Society."
(22) To Frederick (Dickens), from Paris, 48 Rue de Courcelles. Friday Night. Feb. 12, 1847. This refers to a difference of Frederick with a Mr. Shaw. " All imperfect reconciliations are bad things."
(23) To the same from Chester Place. Sunday.
(24) To Hogarth, from Devonshire Terrace. Sunday. April 2, 1848. This refers to " Dombey."
(25) To Frederick (Dickens), from Broadstairs. Sunday. Sept. 24, 1848.
(26) To Hogarth, from Devonshire Terrace. Friday. Dec. 15, 1848. This refers to *The Haunted Man.*
(27) To Frederick (Dickens), from Broadstairs. Monday Night. Oct. 21, 1850. This refers to a proposal " to act at Sir Bulwer Lytton's on Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday, the 18th, 19th & 20th November, and to meet there on Saturday the 16th for Rehearsal in his house."
(28) To Jonathan Jones, Esquire, 39 Brunswick Square, London, from Great Malvern. Mar. 22, 1851. With envelope.
(29) To Hogarth, from Devonshire Terrace. Monday. Mar. 31, 1851. This refers to the death of Dickens's father.
(30) To the same from Tavistock House. Mar. 4, 1852. This refers to *Bleak House.*
(31) To Richard Friend, from 10 Camden Crescent, Dover. Oct. 1, 1852.
(32) To H. W. Pickersgill, Esquire, R.A., Stratford Place, from Tavistock House. Thursday. June 7, 1855. Partly in another hand. With envelope.
(33) To Hogarth, from Tavistock House. Tuesday. Dec. 30, 1856.
(34) To John Watkins, Esquire, from Gad's Hill Place, Higham by Rochester, Kent. Saturday Night. Sept. 28, 1861.
(35) To Charles Mackay, Esquire, (M)orning (C)hronicle Office. Wednesday Night.



Facsimile (reduced) of the first page of the manuscript of the last public speech by Charles Dickens, made at the Royal Academy Dinner, April 30, 1870.

Other letters from Dickens, found among the various collections of autographs in the Library, are :

To Mr. Webb, from Adelphi Hotel, Jan. 3, 1842.
To F. O. Ward, Esquire, from Devonshire Terrace. Feb. 20, 1851. On rats.
To the same from Tavistock House. Jan. 20, 1852.
Cheque payable to self, on Messrs. Coutts & Company, for £3 3s. 0d. Dated Aug. 31, 1860.

There is the complete much-corrected manuscript, of five closely written pages, of *A Child's Dream of a Star*, which first appeared in 1850 in "Household Words." In the extra-illustrated *Life of Dickens* the manuscripts inserted consist of a shorthand book of sixteen quarto pages, in the hand of Charles Dickens, based on Thomas Gurney's *Brachygraphy ;* the review by Dickens of *A Letter to Lord Ashley, M.P., on the Mines and Collieries Bill*, by C. W. Vane, Marquess of Londonderry (London, 1842) ; and the speech of Dickens at the Royal Academy dinner on April 30, 1870. Dickens sent the latter manuscript to the Editor of *The Times*, in which the speech was printed. It has been described as "his most impressive public utterance." The added materials in the *Life of Dickens* mentioned above include the following letters and notes :

From John Dickens, 34 Edwards Street, Portman Square, April 8, 1837, to J. P. Harley, Esq. This refers to Burnett, who "has been for some time engaged to my eldest daughter."
Note to Mr. and Mrs. Dickens :
From Sir E. B. Lytton, from Park Lane (?). Friday. He accepts an invitation for Saturday, May 28 (?).
Letters to Mrs. Dickens :
From Sir E. Landseer. Without date.
From Charles Kemble, 6 Albany Terrace. Saturday. Without date.
From Samuel Rogers. Without date.
From W. C. Macready, 21 Suffolk St. Feb. 13.
Letters to Miss Helen Hogarth, the youngest sister of Mrs. Dickens :
From Leigh Murray, Adelphi Theatre. Tuesday. Without date.
From Frederick Robson, 19 Ampthill Square, Hampstead Road, N.W. Monday. Without date.
From R. Keeley and Mary Anne Keeley, 10 Pelham Crescent, Brompton. Mar. 15, 1856.
From Charlotte H. Dolby. July 5, 1856.

There are also inserted portraits and autograph letters of many of the persons mentioned in the *Life of Dickens*, and many

illustrations of the places visited by Dickens and of the London of his day, They include a water-colour drawing of the little tavern, now no more, called "The Fox under the Hill," which stood near the Adelphi arches and was recalled to memory by Dickens when he wrote in *David Copperfield*, "I see myself emerging one evening from some of these arches, on a little public-house close to the river, with an open space before it, where some coal-heavers were dancing; to look at whom I sat down upon a bench."

A long series of portraits of Dickens himself begins with an engraving of the youthful "Boz" by "Phiz." The numerous other contents include an original playbill announcing the tenth performance of *The Village Coquettes*, an "operatic burletta" by Dickens, first presented at the new St. James's Theatre on December 6, 1836; a catalogue of the modern pictures, water-colour drawings and objects of art which had belonged to Dickens and were sold at Christie's on July 9, 1870, —the names of the buyers and the prices paid have been added in ink; a catalogue of the sale at Gad's Hill Place on August 10, 1870, and on the three following days; and various newspaper cuttings with accounts of the death and funeral of Dickens.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF ARTHUR HENRY HALLAM FROM ETON, NOW IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY M. ZAMICK, M.A., PH.D.

THE Eton Society had been founded in 1811 by C. F. Townshend: its members always prided themselves on its traditions and its exclusiveness. In 1826 it was both an envied and a despised institution,[1] with its "prigs," who preferred a walk to Slough or Salt Hill to playing in the fields or on the river, and its memorials of Praed, Frere, Canning; and in the records of the Society were verbatim reports of their speeches with those of other eminent Eton men. Not parents only, but the boys themselves, looked on it as a place for training, and they understood that "some of the speeches were really very eloquent, and indications of rising genius."[2] There is an adequate description of the Society in 1826 by Milnes Gaskell, then entering upon membership, but only after careful scrutiny.[3] It will suffice for longer explanations.

> "I do not know whether I ever spoke of a society here called the "Literati." They consist of about half-a-dozen six-form, and the same number of upper division, and are by no means an exclusively political society. They have four delightful rooms, which have been frequented by every distinguished man who has been at Eton for a long period of time, but nothing is more rare than to admit a Middle Division to be a member; it must show both confidence and esteem. There are no members under seventeen years of age, and the twelve or fourteen boys, or rather young men, are the only choice few, the only desirable associates. The few that I know at all consist of Gladstone (a son of

[1] RO. p. 32. [2] RES. p. 19. [3] *Ibid.*, see also Maxwell-Lyte, etc.

the member), Lord Arthur Hervey, Doyle, the two Pickerings (the eldest the Captain of the School), Selwyn, Hallam (the best poet in Eton), Farr, and others, all considerably cleverer and older than myself. Well, was it not delightful? Pickering told me yesterday that if I wished it, as he had heard a great deal of my abilities from Hervey and Hallam, he would propose me as a candidate next Saturday. I am secure of every vote but Selwyn's and Farr's, and I am, of course, rather nervous about how they will decide." . . .

If to Hallam and Gladstone, and in some measure to Farr, were due the rhetoric and the form henceforward to be the mark of debates, it was to Gaskell alone that they owed the documentation, verve, and organisation, which neither eloquence nor personality could supply. It was the beginning of the "Gladstone era" of the Society, when numbers doubled and trebled, and "the discussions became much fuller of interest and animation, supported by Milnes Gaskell and others."[1] Speeches were generally carefully prepared, written out, and as much formality and order was kept as was consistent with animation and interest; citations from the poets were frequent, and many periods wound up the dry facts and evidences brought to light. There was a Library, and at this time an enlargement of political toleration[2] brought in the *Morning Chronicle*, the *New Times* and the *St. James's Chronicle*. Each Saturday a formal meeting took place in the "little room, six feet square," not one of the Club rooms, but (it seems) that place above Mrs. Hatton's cookshop which the members only left on the demolition of the property. Keate understood that the Society did not debate any topic later in date than the Revolution, but the members challenged that, only to be met with threats of dissolution. They managed, therefore, to introduce modifications, and in their literary and historical discussions did not refrain from touching upon the present political interests they had most in their minds. There were some who were timorous

[1] RO. p. 35.

[2] JRL. 339, 8: Gladstone to Farr: "to please as much as possible, all parties."

of such procedure, and deputations were apt to be sent to sound the Headmaster on some dubious point. The MS. Records of the Society at Eton contain full details of the business carried through, and it will be understood that what could not be discussed in regular assembly was debated in "Private Meetings." Hallam for one was contemptuous of the "Antiques" who loved no politics but such as "came out of Noah's Ark" and topics concerning the policy of England in Ireland produced in the open, "flaming philo-Catholic speeches." [1] It was also declared by them that a debate on Warren Hastings was a legal debate: some members, however, were doubtful, and these also regarded the "Private Meetings" as an illegal extension of the privileges of the Society." [2] Still the question-paper was full of "Political Questions," and in any case, there "were too many demagogues and incendiaries in the Society" to let any question pass unchallenged.[3] "Party spirit," wrote Gaskell to Farr,[4] "is uncommonly high in the Society, Gladstone, Doyle, and Hallam on one side, and Pickering, Selwyn, and myself on the other." Law was classed as a Radical and did not deny the imputation. He provided much fire in the debates between the contests of Hallam and Gaskell: "the sacred right of insurrection" became one of the memorable phrases of his generation.

In September, 1827, membership declined from eighteen to ten [5] but it rose again in the subsequent months to twenty-one: when Gladstone left the Society, it was "in a very flourishing state," [6] but Pickering thought in September, 1828,[7] that it had been "not so flourishing." Gladstone had been Chairman, and he was succeeded by Selwyn. On Monday, July 23, 1827, Gladstone proposed thanks to Hallam and Gaskell: in October he himself was beginning his undergraduate days, and the following year saw the dispersal of that school generation. Gaskell wrote of the parting:—[8]

> "Hallam and I made farewell speeches of some length last Monday in the Society. He was much affected, and

[1] JRL. 339, 31. [2] *Ibid.*, 40. [3] *Ibid.*, 41. [4] *Ibid.*, 47.
[5] *Ibid.*, 11. [6] *Ibid.*, 14. Jan. 23, 1828. [7] *Ibid.*, 57.
[8] RES. pp. 89-90, July 27, 1827. See Hallam's letter: X *infra*.

alluded to the hours he had spent there as the happiest ones of his life. We were both received with the most kind and gratifying expressions of approbation; and I know not when I have ever been so much affected as on taking a public leave—and that, too, in a somewhat public manner—of the place in which has originated the greatest part of my happiness and enjoyment at Eton, and of those friends I have ever had of the same age and habits that I am since I first went to Mitcham. Such friends as Gladstone, Hallam, Cavendish, Handley, I appreciate the more as I begin to lose, and if you decide finally in favour of Cambridge, my separation from Gladstone will be a source of great sorrow to me."

It was not unfitting that the flourishing *Literati* should emulate the past glories of the Society and produce a School Magazine that might circulate beyond the School. Various opinions variously ascribe the initiative in this adventure to Selwyn, Hallam, Doyle and Gladstone, but it appears that Selwyn was the "prime mover." Hallam was an important[1] contributor in the first five numbers before he left Eton, Gladstone (of whom had been predicted nothing but Methodist Hymns) proved surprisingly useful and together with Selwyn manufactured the Introductory matter of the first number of the *Eton Miscellany*. The writers were to be members of a Club presided over by a certain Bartholomew Bouverie, descendant of Gregory Griffin and Peregrine Courtenay, and from time to time a sketch or character of the members appeared in print, finally revealing true identity at the "Metempsychosis and Conclusion" of the last number. "Anthony Heaviside" proved to be George A. Selwyn, "Mr. Jermyn," Francis H. Doyle, "Mr. Willoughby," J. Milnes Gaskell, "Mr. Quincy," J. H. Law, and "Mr. Philip Montague," Frederic Rogers. The others had been so dismembered that it is hazardous to search for a portrait of Hallam.

[1] but a disappointing one, JRL. 339, 12.

The members worked cheerfully together and did not scruple over the personal rights of authorship. Some doubts arose later on about the quality of the work, and in after days some members continued to feel uneasy about their contributions. Especially sorrowful were the writers over the odious comparison with [1] the "Harrovian" which appeared in the *London Magazine* [2] and it is well known that Gladstone disliked his share in the adventure:—

> "With the memory of the 'Etonian' still fresh at Eton, —with its exquisite poetry, its playful wit, its keen satire, its precocious knowledge, living in the public, not the local mind—what could induce the publication of such a mass of dulness as the 'Eton Miscellany'"?

The censure was unfair, and the charitable saving clause uncalled-for. The Magazine had its inevitable proportion of good things, and little consideration was taken of the gradual retiral of schools from their secular connections then going on and now almost wholly completed. No Eton Magazine has been able to reach the standard of the *Miscellany* preceding it, and the conditions of school life now preclude any such grouping and writings as the *Microcosm* had witnessed or the *Etonian* for that matter. Really to envisualise Eton boys in those days, one must see the coloured prints in the *English Spy*.

The main contributors of the first five numbers were Colville, Doyle, Gaskell, Gladstone, Hallam, Hanmer, Jelf, Law, Pickering, Selwyn, Shadwell, Skirrow and Wilder: from the rest of the publication were omitted Gaskell, Hallam, Hanmer, Skirrow and Wilder, replaced by Rogers. The Society was losing [3] Gladstone, Hamilton, Chisholm (Ma.), Lord Ernest Bruce, Doyle, Taunton, Lyall: it retained Rogers, Sanders, Scarlett, Snow, Chisholm (Mi.), Bruce, Jelf, Hodgson, Cowper, Moss, Nichol (Ma.), Kinglake, Rickards, Handley, Armstrong. Hallam's contributions had included "On Names" (it was generally regretted that the matter was taken from D'Israeli), "Remarks on Gifford's Ford," "Battle of the Boyne," "Bride of the Lake" and letters over the signature of *Quidnunc* and *Christopher Chronicle*.

[1] JRL. 339, 57. [2] May, 1828 (p. 303). [3] RES. p. 98.

In the preparation of the last number an additional sixpence was put on and the pages made as many as half again.[1] But Gladstone thought that,

> " the design was rash and reprehensible, the execution extremely imperfect: that there are few things in it which rise above mediocrity, and many which sink below it: that Bartholomew Bouverie is not a worthy successor of Peregrine Courtenay, far less of the first and best of Etonian boy-authors, Gregory Griffin. But I think we occupy a station somewhat higher than that of the ' Salt Bearer.' "

It was with a feeling of joy that he took the last number to the printers: [2] " Now that it is finished, I must say, that I do not consider it on the whole a book creditable to Eton ; very inferior to the Etonian, & much more to the Microcosm."

" The ' Miscellany ' has breathed its last," wrote Canning to Gaskell,[3] " Bartle Bouverie is no more. ' Lugete Pierides.' Poor old fellow ! he went off pretty well upon the whole, but I must not bother you with rhapsodies. I have not seen the two last numbers ; and cannot, therefore, say anything of them ; Doyle worked at it like a hero all the time. As for ' The Triumvirate,' it came out in a number which did not as much as hold a quarter of one of the ' Miscellany ' numbers, and, to crown all, it left off in the middle of a sentence ; in fact, altogether, it was the most despicable thing I have ever heard of, seen, or read. It is also rumoured that the authors are great losers, as it will not near pay the expenses of printing, &c."

Not entirely like Icarus (as they themselves wrote in their *Introduction*) had they made a flight.

Doyle bemoaned Gaskell's wealth, laziness, and obscurity of career: his indifference to anything that did not take his fancy: [4] a politician born, he neglected to make a noise in the world. The portrait of him in the *Reminiscences and Opinions*,[5] is borne out by the Eton picture of " Mr. Willoughby." [6]

[1] JRL. 339, 13. Gladstone to Farr.
[2] *Ibid.*, 14. Jan. 23, 1828.
[3] RES. p. 98.
[4] RO. p. 35.
[5] Cf. also Preface to RES.
[6] *Eton Miscellany.*

Gaskell was a walking "Hansard," in whose mind lay every important speech ever made in the House of Commons, every bluebook's contents, every paper ever issued, and the whole procedure of parliaments. His friendship with young Canning brought him in contact with the statesman, who dined him and talked with him. Keate was persuaded to let him attend important debates, and he became what Doyle calls "a sort of honorary M.P." While other members of the Eton Society could only nurse their annoyance outside, Gaskell entered St. Stephen's "with at least the tacit acquiescence" of the officials.[1] To the School Debating Society, Gaskell brought this experience and equipment, and his skill, drive and party-organisation, soon endued the meetings with fresh significance. Every question became either with him or against him. His energy for controversy was magnificent, and once, after a brilliant speech by Hallam on Milton's political conduct (a subject that brought him out again in University debate), he turned the tide against eloquence, mimicked Hallam's rhetoric, and carried it against Milton by a vote. On such an occasion it was worth while to be in the Society.[2] It was typical of the antagonism between the two orators; as on another occasion:—[3]

> "Arthur Henry Hallam Esq. in a speech which from the beginning to the end savoured of nothing but Whiggism, defended all the criminal acts of his idol, Charles Fox, and talked about the '*narrow* mind,' and '*narrow* abilities' of William Pitt, which expressions however, he afterwards retracted. . . . I dealt pretty largely in abuse, called Milton a 'vile sycophant,' 'blind hireling' etc. whilst Hallam shook his head all the time that Gladstone and I uttered incontrovertible truisms; and then rose, incorporated his own opinions with Macaulay's, whose judgement I should be less willing to take upon any political question than that of any shoemaker in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and in a declamatory but eloquent speech flew away upon the wings of 'liberty,' 'equality,'

[1] Cf. also RES. p. 60.
[2] JRL. 339, 3. Gladstone to Farr.
[3] *Ibid.*, 41. Gaskell to Farr.

> and every kind of name, invented by the radical for a colouring to those measures which tend to destroy it."

Admiration for Hallam's speaking did not prevent Gaskell from calling in all the aids of public debate, browbeating, and tactical "barracking." He had persuasive powers of his own, also, for he once surprised himself by procuring an unanimous vote [1] in a debate upon Charles I and Parliament, convincing Hallam and Doyle (Whigs), and Law (Radical), "of the cruel and hard-hearted manner in which the king was treated."

The extempore eloquence, "the fluency and arrangement" of Hallam's oratory was progressively marred with bad delivery and irritating gesticulation, and Gladstone explained to Farr [2] that it was "now almost universally thought among us that Gaskell, on the whole, bears away the palm from Hallam in speaking. Last year, I thought Hallam decidedly superior ; and though he still retains the same very great and extraordinary command of language, yet he has fallen into a bad style of action, while Gaskell's are so remarkably good, that Hallam's matter has not fair play in the comparison." Hallam, also, was capable of exercising his wits "on the wrong side," [3] not altogether to be approved, and Gaskell sometimes prayed for the return of an old Etonian "to settle Hallam a little, and teach him that he is not to triumph every Saturday." In tirade and coruscating rhetoric, Hallam carried his audience, while Gaskell generally adopted "a regular House of Commons manner" [4] and spoke cuttingly with a great show of logic and wit.

Party differences also found outlet in mutual criticism, the members obliging one another with an analysis of principles, as in Hallam's letter to Farr on the subject below, and his judgement upon Gaskell elsewhere: [5] "I do think, Gaskell, you are as singular a mixture of politics as well may be conceived, though, I grant you, you do the thing cleverly, and do not, like Farr, in your desire to cull the sweets of all parties, and all measures, run into the grossest contradictions." They named

[1] RES. p. 86, July 26, 1827.
[2] JRL. 339, 6 ; 339, 9 : March and May, 1827.
[3] *Ibid.*, 41. Gaskell to Farr. [4] RO. p. 35.
[5] Cf. JRL. 339, 30 : RES. Aug. 23, 1826.

each other bigots, attached moral values to party labels, and looked to break each other down "with sheer argument." Hallam himself was aghast that any government claimed merit for carrying through measures recommended by economists and administrators of the past. He raised the banner of Whiggism and the "*Cri de guerre*, 'Liberty and the Rights of Man,'" as much as his opponent, for the same end, would deride it. Their differences lay deep in the history of party government, and from varied viewpoints they discussed a "vigorous, tranquil, free, civilised Democracy,"[1] and, in a high style, commented upon the[2] deaths of Jefferson and Adams.

WILLIAM WINDHAM FARR.

While Hallam was writing his letters from Eton, Farr was generally resident at St. John's College, Cambridge, having recently left the school. In 1823 both young men had been in the same Form and in 1826 were together in the Upper Five.[3] Farr was the sole son of William Dale Farr of Iford House, Christchurch, of Lincoln's Inn (admitted May 26, 1790,[4] himself son of Dr. William Farr, Physician to the Royal Hospital, Plymouth).[5] Of William Dale Farr and his wife Elizabeth, William Windham was born November 9, 1808, and baptised November 10 of the following year in the Parish Church of Holdenhurst, Hants.[6]

On leaving his parents, Farr's earliest schooling was with the Revd. C. Bowle at Wimbourne (possibly Charles Bowle, of Queen's Oxon, B.A. 1791), from whose care, after the necessary preliminaries,[7] he went about 1822, to Eton under H. H. Knapp[8] (later the Lower Master). He was placed eventually in the Lower Division of the Fifth Form, and proceeded regularly through the school. In 1826 he left for Cambridge, with a reputation for brilliance, and great expectations in the way of prizes and oratory, read for Honours in Classics, gave up the ambition, proceeded B.A. 1830, and entered himself at

[1] RES. p. 27. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 25. [3] HECS.
[4] *Admissions*, Rec. Linc. Inn., II, 136. [5] *Ibid.*, I, 536.
[6] Add. 37063, 1. Nov. 10 in B.M. copy, as date of birth.
[7] *Ibid.*, Addresses. [8] *Ibid.*, Addresses.

Lincoln's Inn, aged twenty-one, on January 27, of that year. He took M.A. 1833, and was called to the Bar, November 18, 1834. After practising in London, he returned to Christchurch, settled at Ilford House, became J.P. for the County, interested himself in the pursuits and amusements of the magistracy and died at length in January, 1887, aged seventy-eight years, after a protracted illness resulting to some extent from an operation for the stone, a weak heart, and the ravages of a succession of chills in the last years of his life.[1]

While he was at Eton his parents were assiduous on his behalf and an attempt was made specially to interest Keate on his behalf,[2] but Keate "had few opportunities of showing favour to any of the boys." He was encouraged to join the Eton Society, despite the expense, and the possibility of a contested election. About the end of 1825, therefore, he became a Member. Of this move his father had written as follows:—[3]

> "If you wish to belong to the *Literati*, had you not better get in when you can—perhaps the Electors may not be in the same mind after the Holidays—possibly it is a trick to prevent your being elected, invented by those who have some other friend to bring in or else it does not say much for the attendance of the Members that they cannot muster enough for a ballot in a fortnight."

The Society was at a low ebb, but it was to be restored in the following years by Farr's generation of Etonians: yet to be elected was still an important and difficult matter. Farr's chief friends in the group were Pickering (Cher Pick) and Doyle. To 1826 he spoke much and well in the Society and left for Hallam and Gaskell a secure tradition. Gaskell refers [4] to Farr's "eloquence in the Society," and his good nature and ready skill was liked by the tutors as well as by his friends amongst the boys. In discussing the "departed" Farr with his tutor, Gladstone stumbled on the topic of his compositions [5] and informed the grinning teacher that Farr allowed twenty verses for a beginning, twenty for an ending; and four or six to the purpose." In

[1] Add. 37063, 52, *passim*.
[2] *Ibid.*, 37062, 32. 1821.
[3] *Ibid.*, 37063, 9. Nov., 1825.
[4] JRL. 339, 41.
[5] *Ibid.*, 44.

his letters he had always written in an interesting and delightful way, and so he wrote from St. John's to his friends at Eton: "Write me," says Hallam,[1] "many, many more such capital letters." His friends pretended that he was a "whimsical fellow," [2] which in truth he was in his later life, so far as one can judge by his writings, his notebooks, and the occasional remarks made of him by his acquaintances, who admired him but found his retirement difficult to understand.

After Farr's admission at Cambridge in June, 1826,[3] Gladstone and Hallam expressed their disappointment at his abandoning the struggle for Honours, and they did not hesitate to harangue him and cite Frederick Tennyson for his emulation.[4] Despite these things, Farr spent interesting holidays hunting and fishing in Hampshire; in the West of England; and in London.[5] By 1830 [6] he was staying with friends at 613 St. James Street, Bedford Row, until the results of examinations were published. He "heard" that he was "through" and expected to be sixtieth in the list [7] but actually he found he had done better:—

> "I am twenty-first, next to my old opponent Sunderland, and wouldn't change places with any Junior Op. My next neighbour, Ewbank, is Captain. Morgan 30th. I shall be in London Tuesday. Good night. Hurra." [8]

There followed monotonous days at Lincoln's Inn: walking from lodgings to chambers, back again to lodgings: [9] he did not deviate from the straight line between Bury Street, St. James (where he had lodgings on the second floor of No. 5 at two guineas a week) [10] and Temple Bar: it was convenient, but the dinners were not very brilliant in style at Lincoln's Inn Hall. Ten hours a day or more he put in at Chambers, but he felt elated and his letters reflect his brightness.[11] He could go see the "Great Whale," and one day, thinking of buying a horse, met a man with that unique, admirable, remarkable mare, Nora

[1] JRL. 339, 31. Farr's boyhood letters are charming. [2] *Ibid.*, 35.
[3] Cambridge Register. [4] JRL. 339, 15, 16. [5] *Ibid.*, 10.
[6] *Ibid.*, 32, readdressed letter. [7] Add. 37063, 18.
[8] *Ibid.*, 18 postscript. [9] *Ibid.*, 20. [10] *Ibid.*, 28 and 24.
[11] *Ibid., passim, post* 1831.

Crena.[1] In the meantime he kept a Journal, a few pages of which survive :[2]

1834

May 31. Called on John Tregonwell & Gaskell.
June 2. Breakfasted with Gladstone. . . .
Nov. 9. Twenty six.[3]
18. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn.
19. Sworn in as a barrister at Westminster.

1835

March 5. Held my first brief to defend Thomas's : he was acquitted. Dined with the judges.

Farr's health became bad as he stayed on in London,[4] and it appears that he retired to Christchurch not long after his father's death. Iford House was $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Christchurch station and $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Bournemouth West. By 1865 he was out of touch with his London friends,[5] and, except for Gaskell and Doyle, the greater number of his old school friends. He found a charming lady amongst his relatives by marriage in Mrs. Dale, who was to nurse him in his final illness. He once wrote to her,[6]

> " I was told yesterday that cousinhood is the pleasantest of all relationships as it unites the intimacy of Sisterhood without its sameness and the interest of love without its anxiety and the confidence of marriage without its cares."

At seventy-five he was inclined to look on at other people working or playing,[7] and he was content to walk about " in my character of the oldest inhabitant, telling people of the higher flood of 1809 and 4 or 5 other years." He possessed some china (but no " Chaffers "), old books, old prints : but, pleading his bachelorhood, no new, no pretty furniture, nor " that wealth of knickknacks, which the feminine soul is said to delight in." [8]

Farr became seriously ill in 1880 :[9] chills, bad throats and age preceded the trouble for which he underwent an operation :

[1] Add. 37063, 18. [2] *Ibid.*, 33 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, cf. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, 35, 42 and 128. [5] *Ibid.*, 56. [6] *Ibid.*, 63.
[7] *Ibid.*, 56 : Add. 37062, 79. [8] *Ibid.*, 37063, 84. [9] *Ibid.*, 52.

he remained cheerful and ironical, yet accepted the offer from the Vicar of Holdenhurst to have the Holy Communion administered in his house.[1] The tortures of the gall-stones supervened, and with the recovery of some of his general health, he went to London.[2]

One surmises that he was permitted to undergo an operation, for he returned for a while to Iford to make preparations for a stay in London, and wrote from there[3] evidently after the ordeal: he talked of *Vis Renovatorix* and described how he was able to get about. Once back at Iford, Mrs. Dale went to nurse him, and his old friends began to renew their acquaintance with him: he was so ill, however, that he could not see

[1] Add. 37063, 111.
[2] *Ibid.*, 112.

TO MRS. DALE.

My Very Dear Cousin,

I returned yesterday. I got your kind letter this morning. I go see Sir H. Thompson again on Monday. If the operation is performed I suppose it will be on Tuesday. My room is to be at 33 Wimpole Street, two doors from Sir Henry. The arrangements seem very good. The house is full of his patients. There are skilled nurses, if anything goes wrong an assistant can come in a few minutes. Diet &c. all according to order. As I understood Mrs. Cooper each guest has only a bed room where there is a writing table &c. At first the meals are in the bed rooms, afterwards in a dining room I suppose together. I did not see any room Mrs. Cooper being busy. My good constitution has a flaw, Heart, which is weak. I asked Sir H. T. to examine. He said he never did, he had not time. What he did was to get the best man he could find in London. He tested the patients, and said whether ether could be administered, if so for how long. The instructions were to be always on the safe side especially with elderly people. That his present colleague had been with him in more than 100 cases in which ether had been administered and had not yet made a mistake. I have asked for an opinion from each of the medical men who have attended me for the last 20 years. I have heard from Dr. Stevens who is out of reach now, he is in favour of the operation if ether can be administered, "there is a risk but the evil will increase as long as the stone is there." Dr. Burlem has retired from practice for some years but he will come here to-morrow: he is a very old friend and till his health gave way was a first-rate physician. Mr. Meade will be here presently: he was with me the day I fainted, though I had come to before he arrived. I hear his wheels. He is cheering, he says Sir Henry's man is sure to be cautious or he would not be there and that he thinks I could not be in better hands. Ernest Wingrove has come over from Langley. He says a telegram will bring him to London by the next train if he . . . (*desunt caetera*).

[3] *Ibid.*, 117.

his friends. Francis Doyle, his Eton friend, wrote to Mrs. Dale :— [1]

> " I am sorry indeed to hear that my dear old friend has been undergoing so much suffering—but I am glad that you think him better just at present—and that he hopes to be well enough to see me. I will drive over tomorrow morning unless the day is quite hopeless (I am not strong enough to run the risk of a cold myself) : if he is not able to see me—I shall at least have the pleasure of introducing myself to you & hearing what you have to tell me about him."

Doyle heard [2] from Mrs. Dale that Farr was making some progress, and he hoped " if you will drop me a line from time to time to hear that he continues to improve." Mrs. Dale fell ill herself [3] in the stress of anxiety and fatigue : Doyle wrote to her meanwhile :—

> " What wonderful strength of constitution Farr seems to be showing in his long struggle against Death."

Farr lingered through Christmas, 1886. Not long after, Doyle was informed of his death.[4]

n.d. Rowbarns : Leatherhead.

DEAR MRS. DALE,

I thank you sincerely for having sent me the melancholy news that your letter brings. Another of my early friends is gone before me. The last time I saw him (I mean the time when I used to meet him at Bournmouth) before his illness—I should have thought him likely to survive me. But he has lived out a long & I hope not an unhappy life. He was a man of fine intellect, who with more ambition & good luck might have enjoyed a more conspicuous position in the world. I do not know why he hung back from society, or London so much, as he would have been appreciated there, & I should have thought would have liked to be among his old acquaintances & friends.

[1] Add. 37063, 121. [2] *Ibid.*, 124. [3] *Ibid.*, 127 (Dec. 25.)

[4] *Ibid.*, 128. Part of Farr's library was sold on Dec. 10, 1890 (S.SC. 1001). Add. 37060 etc. bought privately by B.M. in 1905.

I used to know the Lukins's Aunts or great Aunts & Uncles of your Miss Lukin, I suppose when as children we played together on Montagu Square.

I am very sorry that you still continue so troubled with your foot. I hope the pleasant change in the weather will do you good.

Believe me,
Dear Mrs. Dale,
Ever most truly yrs.
FRANCIS HASTINGS DOYLE.

Mrs. Dale.

A. H. H. TO W. W. F.

Rylands MS. 339 contains letters to Farr from the following Etonians as well as from Arthur Henry Hallam: William Ewart Gladstone, G. S. Harcourt, H. Clifford, P. A. Pickering, J. Milnes Gaskell, C. Sawbridge, Arthur Buckeridge, and Thomas Gladstone. There are also the original manuscripts of two speeches made at meetings of the Eton Society, one by Lord A. Hervey (339.63) and the other by an unknown speaker (339.65). These documents are bound in one volume.

I have not been able to consult the book listed on p. 57. (for 1862) in L. V. Harcourt's "Eton Bibliography": "*A. H. Hallam*, Jno. Brown, pp. 72, 12mo, Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh." The following are the abbreviations used where the full title of a book is not given:—

JRL. 339.	John Rylands MS.
Add. 37063 etc.	B. Museum Add. MSS.
DNB.	Dict. of National Biography.
Fasti.	"Fasti Etonenses," A. C. Benson, 1889.
RO.	"Reminiscences and Opinions," F. H. Doyle, 1886.
RES.	* "Recollections of an Eton Schoolboy," ed. C. M. Gaskell, 1883.
Memoir.	"Tennyson, etc.," Henry Ld. Tennyson, 1897.
Eothen.	"Eothen," H. W. Kinglake, 1884.
Maxwell-Lyte.	"History of Eton College" (4th ed.), Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, 1911.

* Privately printed.

Political Life. "Political Life of George Canning," A. G. Stapleton, 1831.
HECS. "Eton Lists," H. E. C. Stapylton, 1864.
English Spy. "The English Spy" Bernard Blackmantle (i.e. C. M. Westmacott): re-ed, 1903.
RE. "Reminiscences of Eton," C. Allix Wilkinson, 1888.

I.[1]

Hawtrey's[2]: Eton
Thursday.

DEAR FARR,

I was agreeably surprised at finding your letter on my table yesterday, of course my pleasure was very sensibly increased by reading it. To plague you with politics is a very cruel thing in me, to be sure: but what can a poor bewildered devil like me talk about else? Pray do not let me discourage you from entering upon any subject in your letters: for, since my happiness in reading letters on any subject is very great, how much more must this be the case on any which relate to you. You may flourish away in tropes & metaphors concerning Free Trade: but I certainly am not convinced by your eloquence that "all interests are reduced to an equality of misery" & that "the apprentice to a Parisian pill-gilder"[3] is not *in this respect* a good minister. Had you but seen the Light Blues, Gaskell, & Gladstone lift their hands in pious horror on hearing of the "guilty splendour of William Huskisson" which I spouted to them!!! "Why the man has but 6000£ a year!" bellowed Gaskell: "Only 6000£ for all his services!" echoed Gladstone; "He ought to have a great, great sum more!" cries G.[4] the

[1] JRL. 339, 28.

[2] Edward Craven Hawtrey (1789-1862): see DNB and Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 479 ff. *The English Spy* refers to "pleasant, *clever*, Hawtrey." "Poor Hawtrey! with all his good intentions and over-politeness to the boys, I am afraid from what I have heard from relations and friends of his time—he was far more humbugged than old Keate with his sharpness and unmitigated bluster." R.E.

[3] The reference appears to be to William Huskisson: see DNB: 1770-1830: his maternal great-uncle, Dr. Gem, had resided at Paris where he had been physician to the British Embassy: Huskisson was educated by Dr. Gem and inherited his estate. He is referred to in Stapleton's *Political Life of Canning*, p. 65, as having increasingly obtained Canning's confidence in his commercial and colonial policy.

[4] "Big G" may refer to Gaskell: Gladstone—"little G."

big: "Poor fellow, so he ought," simpers G. the little. Egad! I believe, if these Ministers' Friends had their way, each dependent on the Treasury would have a salary centuple that of the President of the United States. I am sure I wish well to the existing Administration for many reasons: but to champion them as men who are to bring in a golden age, men, who are to be pampered, & flattered at the public expense, is in my humble opinion a crude ridiculous attempt to sneer down common sense. You speak with apparent exaltation on the subject of the infamous Auto-da-fè at Valencia.[1] Infamous indeed it was! but what is the great moral lesson we are to draw from this disgusting scene? surely, that Intolerance is the bane & curse of every country, Protestant, or Catholic, Monarchical or Republican, in which that dreadful spirit has appeared. What has ruined Spain? I answer, the arm of the cursed Inquisition: a system of *exclusion*, & *persecution*: a scheme of human insolence hallowed by the name of God. Why should the order of Nature be reversed when we look at home; why should similar causes in England not tend to the same effect? Why, in a word, do we imitate the worst Catholic Intolerance by establishing Protestant Penal Laws[2] in this free country? Perhaps you smile, & think I am evading your precedent: but for God's sake, reflect for a moment: think how England stands with respect to *Ireland*. The body of the Irish are a discontented people; they groan under periodical famines, & periodical fevers, two of the most horrid visitations that ever scourge man for his sins: in this state of things they are wrought on by artful demagogues, by O'Connell,[3] O'Gorman, & Sheil: by bigoted priests, who

[1] In 1826 a relapsed Jew and a Mexican were tortured in Spain by the Inquisition (Wade).

[2] Penalties on Catholics legally rescinded 1778. 1828, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and 1829 the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill.

[3] Daniel O'Connel (1775-1847), *The Liberator*: formed the "Catholic Association," 1823, and levied "rent" 1824: founded "Order of Liberators" 1826 (DNB). Bills were brought in without effect to dissolve the Association which voluntarily disbanded on the promise of Emancipation, 1829. Peel was leader of the anti-popery party in Parliament and O'Connel challenged him to a duel. O'Gorman (Charles James Patrick Mahon), 1800-1891, Richard Lalor Sheil, 1791-1851, joined O'Connel: he coined the famous phrase, "every altar became a tribune at which the wrongs of Ireland were proclaimed" (Wade).

think such policy a duty, & set no bounds to their zeal! Such is the *fact*, Sir: now let me ask you on your conscience do you think, *when a war comes*, & come it will, & must, (ay, & that soon) that the Irish millions will let slip the opportunity? Do you suppose they did us no harm in the last war? Two rebellions,[1] & a body of (armed) men kept to terrify Ireland, instead of aiding W(ellington) or Moore, are my answer, if you do. Yet have (they) increased in spirit, in numbers, in rage, in fa(ctious?) f(ury) since t(hat p)eace? They have: ye Waterford[2] electi(ons bear) witness; (but) one out of many! Then in the n(ame of com)mon sense why leave this infuriated, besotted populace under the guidance of hedge-priests, & mob-orators? Secure the Catholic Clergy, by making them dependent on the State for their Subsistence: disfranchise the 40s. Freeholders[3] who are the instruments of bigotry: give Catholic Peers[4] & Gentry seats in Parliament, for we have tried *their*

[1] In 1793 the *Defenders* attacked important buildings in Ireland, and from 1795 organised groups created disturbances: civil war between United Irishmen and Orangemen, 1798, loyalist claims for compensation amounting to £792,508. On July 23, 1803, there was an insurrection in Dublin: in 1818 an epidemic: in 1822 a famine.

[2] 1826 saw an extraordinary display of feeling in Ireland at the general election in June. "The Catholic priests, for the first time, openly began to take a part . . . inculcating the doctrine that opposition to an anticatholic candidate was a Christian duty" (Wade). The Beresfords were driven out at Waterford, where the Fortyshilling Holders (many of whom had been created for the opposite purpose) openly voted against the landlords.

[3] See Stapleton's "Canning and his Times" (p. 251) on Burdett's Relief Bill: the manufacture of 40s. freeholders had been "carried on to an extent in Ireland, for electioneering purposes, quite incompatible with the sound principles of the Constitution." It was also attempted to "bind the Popish priesthood by a golden chain to their Protestant Sovereign." Canning was "not opposed" to the measure. The question of abolishing the Freeholders and paying the Popish Clergy went together. The second reading of the Catholic Bill took place April 21, 1825; second reading of Bill to disfranchise Freeholders, April 26. The Lords rejected the Catholic Bill, May 27, and the disfranchising measure was withdrawn. The Duke of York presented a petition from the Dean and Chapter of Windsor against the Catholic Bill (Toone), "and took occasion to declare in a very energetic manner his decided disapprobation of the claims of the Catholics, and his determination at all costs to oppose him": great rejoicing greeted the rejection by the Lords.

[4] Canning had carried second reading of Bill to have Catholic Peers sit in Parliament by a narrow majority. On April 28, 1829, first Catholic Peers took their seats.

loyalty & found it pure: they have passed through the fire, & lo! it has not harmed them! These are my reasons for granting Emancion: this dreadful danger which yawns before us overwhelms me, I confess, with horror & fear: grant Emancion, & you paralyse the blow of bigotry, you save us from the awful depth of ruin. At present, remember my words, we are digging with our own hands the pit which will bury us.

I have made this appeal to you on the Catholic question, not to call forth your eloquence in reply: a debate would be useless as tedious: I (simply) beg of you to reflect: to beware how your voice is added to the (cry) of No Popery. Beware how you unite with those who have not acquired audacity of assertion from profundity of thinking! You have all the old women, all the stupid, all the foolish on your side: but good Heaven, is the immediate safety of this noble & ancient Monarchy to be sacrificed to the petty triumphs of controversial loquacity?

Forgive me so much politics, but you provoked the contest, & when I once give myself the reins, Beelzebub himself cannot stop me. Apropos of reins, Wentworth [1] bids me say Mulatto carried more weight because of the rain, & that he was in a sweat at starting. Doyle [2] maintains he never could have won. Both saw the race. Wentworth is in the Society: so is Wilder.[3] I do not much like the subject for Saturday: my heart is for Dicky the Lion, but I fear there will be no debate if I do not patronize the Swedish madman. Nothing new at Eton in any way. To make a landholder love Free Trade [4] is a sheer miracle,

[1] Hon. William Charles Wentworth: 1826, Upp. Mid. V., Viscount Milton, the eldest son of Earl Fitzwilliam, died in 1835: HECS: see JRL. 339, 31: "I beg pardon for distrusting Wentworth's talents: he is a capital speaker, & indeed his manner one of the best for delivery that I have seen."

[2] Francis Hastings Doyle (1810-1880). See DNB: he recalled himself, RO (p. 417), as "the ink-spillingest boy as ever comed to Eton": (p. 53) his story of his Greek exercise for Keate on theme, "there is nothing like water." Character at Eton as "Fr. Jermyn" (p. 99, *Miscellany*). Himself a just and candid critic of his own poetry.

[3] Charles Wilder, 1826, VIth form. Assistant-Master at Eton, 1831-38; at King's in 1826 (HECS).

[4] Referring to Farr.

much above my powers: "what have any country gentlemen, forsooth, to do with the good of the public?" Nothing, if we judge by their practice!" How neatly Hunt [1] floored the whole of your herd at Andover! Hoping you will write to me again bye & bye, as also to Pick: [2] who is much pleased with his letter from you. I shall conclude, & remain, yours sincerely, & affect'ly

A. H. HALLAM.

Gladstone [3] desires me to say, that he has not ratted about Free Trade, & that he never did approve of *all* the Ministerial plans on that subject. As for big G. he is a regular bigot: he swears by Huskisson on the Reciprocity Business, yet owns he does not know why? "I am convinced" verbatim his declaration: "I am convinced, but of what, & by what I have no idea!" This was said gravely. O ye light-blues!!!

W. W. Farr, Esq.,
Iford House,
Christchurch, Hants.

[1] Henry Hunt: "Orator" Hunt. See DNB: Radical (1773-1835).

[2] P. A. Pickering wrote an "Essay on Friendship," 1875. Percival Andree Pickering: Upp. V., 1826. See DNB. See JRL. 339, 32: "Pickering of course, your (Farr's) protegé & friend, will support the old Jacobite cause . . . Gaskell of course will give him as unqualified, & determined a support."

[3] Gladstone was the member who raised the point of the legality of the Debate on Warren Hastings in the Society. (See JRL. 339, 4, Oct. 31, 1826): Chairman of the Society (JRL. 339, 31): "I think he will make a good one": possible re-election (JRL. 339, 33): Selwyn succeeds him in the Chair (JRL. 339, 35). Nov. 4, 1827 (JRL. 339, 54), Pickering to Farr: "Gladstone continues at Eton now "sine rivali"—he has outlived every equal and superior, and enjoys an undisputed sovereignty. His writings are by far the best in the 'Miscellany.'" His skill and usefulness in the *Miscellany* was an agreeable surprise (JRL. 339, 36), his companions having expected him to excel in Methodist Hymns. Wrote to Farr on departure from Eton (JRL. 339, 13, Nov. 26, 1827), "I shall depart with sincere regret: and I have long ago persuaded myself that I never can expect another period of my life to be so full of joys and so free from sorrows as that which I have passed here." Gaskell wrote of him when he was leaving Eton (RES. p. 85, July 16, 1827): "Gladstone is no ordinary individual, and, perhaps, were I called on to select the individual I am intimate with to whom I should first turn in an emergency, and whom I thought in every way pre-eminently distinguished for high principle, I think I should turn to Gladstone: he is going to Christchurch in about a year." He wrote of his politics in 1827 to

II.

Hawtrey's : Eton
Tuesday.

DEAR FARR,

If you only treat your other correspondents as liberally as you treat me, you deserve a monument much more than a hundred ephemeral beings who sleep in marble at Westminster Abbey. It would be ungrateful not to answer so good a letter writer, & so good a letter, on the spur of the moment. "So here goes for 3 pages, & *the little bit* of stupid Hallamic prose!" N'importe, it is the lot assigned by Providence to amusing epistoligers to be bored with dull answers. I am heartily glad you are in the Union : [1] cultivate Walpole's [2] acquaintance, & remind him of a sort of half-promise which he made me to come down, & visit us at Eton. Have you ever seen Wellesley's [3] *face* yet? I suppose it is high treason against Dame Porcina,[4] to speak to Trinitarians, or I would ask you to jog Wellesley's memory a little as to writing &c. I envy your life of luxury on the sedgy banks of the Cam, balls, concerts, Miss Loves,

Farr (Sept. 14, JRL. 339, 12) : "While I have the period of the French Revolution stamped deeply in my memory, I cannot but feel distrust of the principles of Whiggism, and of its tendency." In 1832 (when M.P. for Newcastle : JRL. 339, 25) he thought thus of the political situation : "It were now folly to hope that, unless indeed some wholly unforeseen combination of circumstances should arise, the constitution can be preserved." Gladstone at Eton was strongly pro-Catholic.

[1] The Cambridge Union : Gaskell wrote (RES. p. 85) : "I have heard lately that at Oxford a man is much more independent than at Cambridge ; that at Cambridge there are but few intermediate grades between hard reading and dissipated men ; secondly, the debating club at Oxford is respectable, gentlemanly, &c., &c., whereas the Union is the contrary." This was a general reputation and Hallam made enquiries on these lines.

[2] Spencer Horatio Walpole (1806-98). See reference in following letter.

[3] Farr had probably written that he had often seen "his back." Wellesley had a reputation as a debater in the Society, fit to battle with Hallam and defeat him (JRL. 339, 41). Gerald Valerian Wellesley : M.A., Trin. Coll., Cantab., 1830 : son of Earl Cowley : born 1809 : Upper md. V., 1823 (HECS). Doyle (RO. p. 78) : "We were both members of the Debating Society together, though only for a short time ; whenever he did speak there, he spoke very well, but his special gift, a gift derived, I suppose from his uncle, Lord Wellesley, was a perfect mastery of Latin versification."

[4] Certainly a pun on the lines of "Lex Porcina" *De Provocatione.*

spick & span Union politics—Diavolo! It is enough to make me forfeit the natural placidity of my temper for a few moments in order to rail at this accursed Eton system.[1] φεῦ φεῦ. I shall not take my place as Freshman for the next 2 years; so complaint is needless, & letters from you must supply the place of your conversation. You ask for Eton news: really I know of none. I am sincerely sick of this term, & long to breathe the invigorating air of Bowbells. Our debates have been on the whole good this time: but we have not yet managed an adjourned one.[2] The grand question of Richard's Deposition was debated last Saturday: you cannot doubt which side I took? I voted against the wretch, who, nursed in depravity, seemed to acquire an increase of crime, in proportion to the increase of his years, & who vainly endeavored, by decimating the aristocracy of the realm, & by deliberately murdering his own uncle, to prop his tottering throne. Yet such is the prevalence of Toryism in the Society that they divided 7 to 4 against the Deposition. Gaskell made a violent, but in many parts, a masterly speech on the victorious side: & Pickering, who supported the same cause, hoped that "the Englishmen of 1826 had more loyalty in their hearts than those of 1688!" Here is the holy cause of the Stuarts with a vengeance. Our question for next Saturday is, "the execution of the rebel"—I beg pardon—the martyr "lords in George II's reign justifiable?" The Saturday after, "Ancient or Modern writers, which display most genius?" Now then for your Union questions: I think them very good, but wonder how the question about 1688 is stated, as it must require something more than your effrontery to arraign the whole transaction. I should like to see the man who would divide against the great & good actors on that glorious theatre: to hear the man, who dared to assert the innocence of James, or the criminality of resistance to him: to know the man

[1] About this period the "Eton system" was in the air. See much discussed article in *Edinb. Review*, vol. 51, pp. 65 ff., April, 1830, "Public Schools of England—Eton": and the series of "Replies" and "Observations" by the several *Etonenses*.

[2] In the days when the Society was being restored to its former glories, a debate carried over to the next meeting would have been of vital importance.

who in 1826 would preach up Passive Obedience, & even outdo the inimitable timeserver, Thomas Vaughan! If such a man is to be found, he belongs doubtless to that foul-mouthed faction, which, however at different times it may be distinguished by different disguises, is uniformly the retailer of slander, & the organ of malice against all that is good, or venerable, or holy! Such were the Sacheverels of the last century: such are the Lethbridges,[1] & Israelis of the present. "Measures, not men," is truly their motto: *So that evil be done, they care not who does it.* With regard to Commerce, what have Ministers done, which has not been recommended by practical, & philosophical writers of the highest repute for the last 60 years? But I am deviating into Rant. You ask for my opinion about Burke: it is a capital question: sorry I am that you can sympathise with neither [2] of those great men on the most interesting period of their lives. They are both aliens from your politics: the warm enthusiasm of Fox, & the stern vehemence of his rival were equally averse from Toryism, servility, & the Stuarts. I admire both these wonderful men: I revere the firmness with which they adhered to the principles which they had deliberately chosen: for how long had they been sharers in the same glory, champions of the same cause, partakers of the same peril? Hand in hand they struggled against the iniquitous system which gave birth to America's independence: together they assailed the monster of secret influence which lurked behind the throne: both roused a patriotic indignation against the young & aspiring minister,[3] who abandoned the principles in which his immortal father had lived & died! Such was their lot: in their friendship, principle & affection played an equal part: the dissolution of that friendship is one of the most painful events in the pages of our history. I wish, as much as possible, to preserve impartiality between such eminent characters: but I must confess my bias is towards Fox. Burke's celebrated Reflections are undoubtedly replete with sound knowledge, & fervid eloquence, but they are stamped with a spirit of rancor,

[1] Sir Thomas Lethbridge, M.P. He brought in a motion praying the King to consider the need for unanimity in the Cabinet.

[2] Burke and Fox.

[3] The younger Pitt.

& violence which contaminates even the good they contain. In Fox's speeches on this occasion there is violence also; but it is a violence arising from generous ardour, & a spirit of almost chivalrous zeal. That Burke should differ from his rival might be expected, for he had always disapproved of Reform, & except when hurried on by passion, had adopted the most tranquil tenets of the Rockingham school: but that he should turn difference into hatred, that he should sternly sacrifice his friend on account of the troubles of a foreign country; that he should obstinately refuse to communicate with those, whose faith he had so long professed to cherish: that he should carry his animosity to his grave, & in his last illness refuse to see the man, whom he had panegyrised, as one "born to be loved," & who implored a return of friendship, all this, I own, does appear to me a degree of harshness not to be warranted by sound justice, or true morality. Differences must occur between the honourable adherents to a party: but why should those differences prevent their uniting for the common good, as long as their fundamental articles of faith remain unchanged, & unchangeable! But I have forgotten that I was writing a letter, not a speech: write to me a faithful account of your Union proceedings at your leisure, & believe me,

Yours very faithfully,
A. H. Hallam.

My direction in London is 67, Wimpole Street.

W. W. Farr Esq.,
St John's College,
Cambridge.

III.

Sutton: near Epsom.
Wednesday Sept. 24, 1826.

Dear Farr,

I certainly ought to apoligise for troubling you with a letter at a time when I suppose you are too much taken

up with guns, & dogs,[1] & partridges to think of such sublunary things as Eton, the Society, or your humble servant. Perhaps however, should you be drenched with rain after some unlucky expedition, & enjoying the best of all luxuries, an autumn fireside, you may not disdain to give a zest to your morrow's sport by reading this letter. I have received several epistles from Messrs. Gaskell, Gladstone, &c. breathing politics at every pore, & anticipating a glorious Session.[2] It will give you, I suppose, great pleasure to hear that the latter is tremendously dispirited about the present Administration; nay, even dares (what a thought for a light Blue) to entertain doubts as to the policy of Free Trade.[3] Gaskell is more sanguine, but looks blue at the Reciprocity Treaties,[4] & can hardly digest the present state of affairs. As for me, though I never professed to be so vehement a champion of Ministers as they did, I happen to be a little more consistent: when we first determined to cut up by the roots that impolitic system which by pampering particular trades & interests prevented that equality of Industry by which alone the grandeur of nations can be promoted, & the cause of civilisation advanced —when we did this, we foresaw the consequences. If landlords are luxuriously maintained at *the cost* of the public, it is not to be expected that laws which relieve the public will please the landlords. "It is a better thing that a part should perish than the whole": much more then is it to be desired that one class should be reduced than that every class should suffer. Besides, two thirds of the late distresses arose from other causes; from the errors of the currency, & the absurdity of Utopian speculations.[5] I wonder you are an opponent of Free Trade,

[1] The letters from Farr to his parents and acquaintances (Add. 37063) contain descriptions of outings in the field, and kindred pursuits to which he was much given.

[2] At Oxford: in 1829 the Union voted three to one against concessions to the Catholics.

[3] Free Trade and the Corn Laws went together. The Liverpool Administration, 1812-27.

[4] Reciprocity treaties made arrangements with regard to tariff barriers. W. H. Huskisson, Board of Trade.

[5] During the Regency prices began to fall: in 1819 Peel forced cash-payments: with him, against inflation, were Huskisson and Ricardo who took part in the 1822 Commission on the currency question. 1824 had seen a boom in specula-

since you must be aware that it was the most favorite of all favorite theories with those old Tories whom you admire so vehemently. Think of Queen Anne's reign, of your Bolingbroke's Commercial Treaty [1] in which the French Trade was the prominent object: think how the Whigs wrote, spoke, & acted against it, how they enlisted every prejudice, every scrap of ignorance, or error on the side of the bigotted Mercantile System. But I see how it is; your modern love of the Blackwoodites [2] bears the palm from your antique affections for genuine Toryism. I have long been endeavoring to fathom your politics, Farr; & I believe I have succeeded: your political system may be resolved into two great principles, Abhorrence of Cant, & Love of Originality. You are a Jacobite: Why? Because the "blessings of our happy establishment, & the security of this Protestant Succession" have been handed from mouth to mouth, till it has grown into the currency of a proverb. Here is Principle I in all its glory. You admire Bolingbroke. Why? Purely because he has acquired the reputation of a villain, & the stream of cant has hitherto flowed steadily against him. Principle I again: with perhaps a mixture of Principle II. You admire Lord Russell: [3] who doubts the reason? Because nobody else ever admired him & St. John both! Principle II fully displayed. You are an Anticatholic: "Impromptu causa est": you hate to hear of Toleration, & Liberality, & Conciliation &

tion. (Toone) "The low rate of interest for money in the public funds, the diminution of taxes, and the great abundance of capital, generated a rage for speculation, and a gambling spirit of adventure; every day gave birth to one or more projects for the investment of capital, some of which were useful, and bid fair to be profitable; but a great many were the schemes of unprincipled speculators, the dupes of whose schemes had reason to repent the confidence placed in their delusive promises." The capital invested that year amounted to nearly twenty millions. 1825 saw beginning of the panic: the Bank of England began to issue large supplies of £1 and £2 notes to meet the situation. By the end of 1825 the panic subsided.

[1] The Commercial Treaty with France after Utrecht: the Commons refused it by 194 votes to 185, May 29, 1713.

[2] Blackwoodites: *The Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*, estab. 1817: the plan politically of this paper was to combat the influence of the *Edinburgh Review*: the actual history of this plot is amusing: re-established under publisher's editorship as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*: anti-Whig and anti-Reform.

[3] Lord Russell (1792-1878). See DNB.

such branches of Cant; ergo you obey the irresistible impulse of Principle I. You dislike the Canning party in the Cabinet, & revere Lord Eldon: [1] the same principle accounts for this, as also for your affection towards Bull,[2] Blackwood & Co. who are in your eyes the steady, consistent, & adroit opponents of *Cant*. You are a Reformer!!! Here bursts forth with overwhelming radiance the Second Principle. Who ever heard of an Eldon-loving Reformer; of a son of Blackwood daring to inhale the atmosphere of "Triennial Parliaments, & extended Representation"! It is absolutely needful then that you should make the experiment. In some cases, such is the exquisite refinement of your mind, such the ductility of your fancy, that you take second-rate Cant, instead of first-rate as the rock you are to avoid. This happens in the case of Sir R. Walpole: Poor man! Cant has flowed against him with a vengeance: but then the Jacobites were his mortal foes, & they were the original Anti-Cantites, who withstood all new nonsense about Privilege & Resistance with the most laudable sturdiness. Here then is Anti-Cant versus Anti-Cant: the ass (I beg your pardon) is between two bundles of hay. Here comes the refinement: you make choice of the Anti-Cantites of the second degree, i.e. the Jacobites who thundered down Walpole, rather than those of the first, who advocate the poor devil, i.e. the Whigs & your humble servant. I do not pretend that I have explained all your dogmas on my hypothesis; some are of course owing to accidental circumstances, to favorite authors, to particular opposition (which always confirms opinions at first only slight), some perhaps to family notions sucked in with your mother's milk. But by far the greatest portion of your singular fabric of politics rests on the two solid immoveable principles which I mentioned before. I dare say you are ready to deny these premises in argument, but your conscience tells you they are true.

[1] Lord Eldon. See DNB (1751-1838). John Scott, first earl: was succeeded in 1827 by Lord Lyndhurst: was Lord Chancellor when Canning was making his administration (*Political Life of Canning*, p. 328).

[2] If the reference is to *John Bull*: a scurrilous newspaper: it supported Canning in his administration (Bourne, *English Newspaper*, p. 29).

I dined the other day with Walpole,[1] our famous member, (great-great-nephew by the bye of Sir Bob), who told me much of the Union: it is divided into two parties he says, Radicals & Republicans in the one, Whigs, Tories of all sorts & sects in the other. The latter have of course the votes; the former the speakers!! Woe is me for our future politicians! You are sadly wanted to reinforce the good side, I mean the Anti-Radical one. I gave a high character of you to Walpole: who promised to call on you at Cambridge, as an Etonian, & Society-man, & to gain your eloquence to the Union. Believe me,

yours most faithfully

A. H. HALLAM.

What think you of the Duke of York?[2] I am really sorry for him; I understand he knows well there is no hope, & bears it firmly. *Ονοι ὑμν*, Anti-*καθολικοι*! Pray forgive my railleries about your politics, & if you have time on your hands, answer this: or which would be far better, come down & join the Debates some Saturday. Vale, I hope not, longum Vale.

W. W. Farr, Esq.
Iford House,
Christchurch, Hants.

IV.

Hawtrey's: Eton
Saturday.

DEAR FARR,

One more letter to you before I visit the Hounslow road. Your last delighted me: I would give worlds if I had them (a very safe assertion) to hear a debate in the Union. I am glad your speeches meet with proper applause: & however

[1] See note *supra*.

[2] The Duke of York was the political enemy of Canning (*Political Life*, p. 300). Died of inherited disorders, Jan. 5, 1827: "the prop of the Ultra-Protestants": Canning's own death was traced to a chill caught at St. George's at the burial: in 1827 it was ascertained that the Duke's assets did not permit of payments of 1s. in the £.

much I may wish that our little room [1] of 6 feet square was the theatre of your eloquence, *for you* it is far better as it is. I am sorry so large a majority gave their votes in favor of Burke's desertion of the Whigs, & disgusted at the impudent Jacobinism which you have retailed to me from the other side's speeches. If I ever become a member of the Union I shall do pretty much as you have chalked out for me: I shall never lose an opportunity of defending the party to which the People owe their Bill of Rights, & the House of Brunswick their throne, but at the same time look with the utmost horror upon those, who seek to overthrow the Constitution & whose countenances would gleam with a demoniac smile amidst the awful ruin of our laws, our religion, & our throne. When a Whig advocates Reform he seeks only to preserve by analogous amendments the Constitution which is his pride: he spurns with conscious rectitude the bold politician who would level the work of ages in order to try a totally new experiment in government. When a Whig pleads the cause of the Catholics he does it in the firm belief that the preservation of our institutions depends on an immediate alteration of our policy towards Ireland, & that to fight public opinion by force is equally impolitic & unjust. When a Whig praises the deposition of any sovereign in general, or of our James in particular, he does it from a sincere conviction that such an exertion of power will prove a memento to future monarchs, & will secure the blessings of liberty & tranquility by lessening the chance of tyranny on the one hand, & of faction on the other. But when he avows these principles, while he venerates, & almost adores the memory of those "burning & shining lights" who have in our own country proclaimed, & defended them, he shrinks with loathing from those who do good only in theory, but evil in practice. In these principles may I live & die! Come down the first Saturday next half to hear our debate on the conduct of England to Ireland. I intend to make a flaming Philo-Catholic speech; that is, Deo volente, for we are in some fear

[1] The reference to "Hounslow Rd." is undecided: the actual site of Mrs. Hatton's shop might have been then in that road: the "little room" was the debating-place, apart from the club and reading rooms of the Society. Farr, evidently, had now definitely joined the Union at Cambridge.

of being blown up by a sudden explosion of the Little [1] Doctor's spleen. You must know he has for some time been chafing in secret at our fondness for political subjects, which how he found it out, his spies, & Jove only know: at this critical period some malign spirit put it into our heads to send a deputation to him, under the following circumstances. I had made a motion early this half that our rule about 50 years "should not include literary subjects, provided they had nothing to do with politics, or with living characters." What can be simpler or, one would think, less liable to objection? At that time however it was negatived: but I thought it fair to have a second trial when the House was full, & brought it forwards again, when it was carried. On this Ld. A. Hervey,[2] who had supported it said that as it involved a fundamental rule, an application to Keate was necessary. To Keate accordingly, after some disputing, Pickering went in our name: the (Doctor) flew off in a tangent, almost swore at poor Per(cy and declared) that we had no right to debate anything subseque(nt to the Revolution) adding by way of a soothing sequel, that (he would) break up the Society all together!!! The falsehood of what he said about our not debating things subsequent to the Revolution is palpable: as for dissolving us à la Cromwell I hope it is but a mere squib of his rage, & that the holidays will prove an opiate. I wish my motion had been at the bottom of the Caspian, or

[1] Dr. Keate. See DNB: line-sketch by J. Calvert Jones on p. 381 of Maxwell-Lyte's *Eton:* silhouette portrait frontispiece to C. A. Wilkinson's *Reminiscences*, 1888: noticed in all books on Eton: Doyle (RO. p. 47) "that *rara avis*": "He was an odd and imperfect headmaster no doubt, as any one except the obituarist (of *The Times*) would have known from Kinglake's world-famous account of him, but he had his redeeming points. . . . Like all the rest of our older pedagogues, he has been overshadowed and banished by the wide-spread renown of the late Dr. Arnold, whose avatar is supposed to have entirely reorganised English public education." See Kinglake's *Eothen* (1859 ed.), pp. 249 ff.: he had named John Keate, to the magician: the Boy, however envisualised "a fair girl with golden hair, blue eyes, pallid face, rosy lips"! Doyle relates an anecdote about Hallam and Keate (RO. p. 52): "*de minimis non curavit Keatius.*"

[2] Lord Arthur Charles Hervey (1808-94): Upp. V. 1826: Trin. Coll. Cantab.: First Cl. Classics in 1831: first son of Marquis of Bristol: ordained 1832: Bp. of Bath and Wells, 1869-94: Gladstone says he made the motion and Hallam supported it. See JRL. 339, 63, for a speech of Hervey's at the Society.

Joe Hume's [1] pocket, before I had unwittingly given cause for such a coup-de-theatre. I suppose however it will come to nothing: as for imposing further restrictions we will see Keate in the full enjoyment of purgatorial coals before we consent, at least till further steps are taken by the confounded little Autocrat! The Rebels had a respectable minority of 3 last Saturday: today we debated, "Ancient or Modern writers which display most genius?" It was a good debate: carried for moderns easily. Moreover we elected a chairman, & Gladstone proved the happy man: I think he will make a good one. To my great joy last Saturday Pickering's (in my opinion, & Gladstone tells me, in yours) unconstitutional resolution was rescinded, & the question about W. Hastings declared legal.

I beg pardon for distrusting Wentworth's talents: he is a capital speaker, & indeed his manner one of the best for delivery that I have seen. Law [2] is likewise a clever speaker:

[1] Joseph Hume: in 1826 leader of the Radicals, including Cobbet, "Orator" Hunt, and Sir Francis Burdett: they showed themselves as a new party, standing between the Whigs and the people, in the Parliament which was dissolved at the end of May, 1826: 1777-1855: his policy was to preach "retrenchment": his measures of economy were jeered at by Canning and Huskisson: see JRL. 339, 33, "interminable as Mr. Hume." The jeer about the depth of Hume's pocket may be quite innocuous.

[2] John Halsey Law: K.S.: Fellow of King's: barrister: Upp. V., 1826: his Wat Tyler Oration in the Society became justly famous: (JRL. 339, 6. Gladstone to Farr, March 15, 1827), "Law opened, and said he trusted Englishmen would never forget, under such circumstances, the sacred duty of insurrection": Gaskell cut him up: Law sat down in a storm of coughing. Schoolboy portrait as Mr. Quincy (*Eton Miscellany*, No. 6): "Extravagant in some of his opinions, yet sober in all his actions: in theory, an embryo demagogue, in practice every way qualified to be an useful, an estimable member of society, there are few whose sentiments on certain subjects are more at variance with the formation of their minds and the tenor of their lives. From his very cradle he has worshipped Freedom. The Cap of Liberty he would have preferred to the less conspicuous appearance, yet equally sure protection, of a hat. Still he retains the recollection, still he venerates the shades, of all those who at any time, and in any country, have vindicated the 'rights of man,' and shaken the thrones of their 'tyrannical oppressors.' From his conversation, it might be supposed that patience was the object of his detestation, passion and resentment the darling idols of his heart: yet none can endure with a better grace, none can forgive with more readiness of will, more sincerity of heart; none are (*sic*) more susceptible, none more worthy of, affection." Gaskell had organised his "Treasury Bench" by this time, and trained them in the ways of St. Stephens, with regard to "coughing," "sneering" and the different kinds of "cheering."

& it is a shame in Gaskell to cut him up so unmercifully for being a Radical, which he has never shewed signs of in debate, though, I must own, he denies the imputation but faintly.

I have dosed you well with nonsense: but I hope you have not yet learnt to consider Eton news as *humbug*, & rest my hopes of pardon on your good nature. Now then for a final benediction. Go on flourishing at Cambridge: gain a few prizes, & a brilliant oratorical reputation: correct your politics into something a little less heterogeneous, or if that be impossible, proselytise into the number of the elect: come down occasionally to us poor wretches: & write me many, many more such capital letters as your last: as you do this may you prosper.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
A. H. HALLAM.

67 Wimpole St. mind.

W. W. Farr, Esq.,
St. John's College,
Cambridge.
A. H.

V.

Hawtrey's: Eton
Tuesday.

DEAR FARR,

Pardon! Pardon! I have not cut you dead, I assure you, though I have been a most wayward correspondent: but, I hope, when you take into consideration the nausea which always attends a return to Eton, & which indisposes one for every thing; the horrors of a four exercise week to begin with; & the more serious business of preparing for a Confirmation which is to take place the day after tomorrow, you will excuse my silence. By Mercury, & all the silver-tongued gods of Eloquence, you ought to have heard our debate last Saturday on the policy of England towards Ireland from the Revolution in 1688 to 1776! No one ventured to lift his voice in favor of the atrocious Penal

Code : [1] our speeches were all on the same side, but though opposition was wanting, eloquence was not : Gaskell's speech was capital ; you should have heard his ingenious method of rousing the indignation of the House against Wood's famous patent,[2] without ever mentioning the inconvenient fact—that Sir R. Walpole sent him over ! ! Apropos, Sir Robert in person is debated next Saturday week : now, as you were pleased to inveigh against your humble servant for not whisking into the Union viâ Cambridge mail from London, your humble servant will take the fair revenge of inveighing against you, if you do not make your appearance, to harangue against the father of corruption, the profligate minister, who ruined the country by not wasting her blood, & spending her treasure in extravagant wars. We shall, I believe, be oddly divided on this question : Pickering of course, your protegé & friend, will support the old Jacobite cause against him with the utmost vehemence ; Gaskell of course will give him as unqualified, & determined a support : Law, Gladstone, & myself, though of the most opposite politics, Radical, Tory, & Whig, will agree in keeping an exact equilibrium on his character, giving praise for much, & withholding it for much more : as far as I know at present, I believe all three of us will *vote* on his side. Selwyn [3] I should guess would either oppose him, or move his portly person behind the chair : Doyle

[1] The Popery Act of 1704 : the practice led to release from penalties, 1778.

[2] Patent granted on Jan. 28, 1723/24.

[3] George Augustus Selwyn (Selwyn major) (1809-79). See DNB : Bp. of New Zealand, 1841 : Upp. V., 1826 : Selwyn Coll. Cantab. incorp., 1882. Reference (JRL. 339, 32) to his "portly person" supported by *Miscellany* portrait. "Neither is he at all behind his ancestors in his manly and uncompromising hatred of all that appertains to the Pope ; the phantasms of former days are still present to his imagination : nor would he disdain to exercise his Stentorian lungs in sounding the war-cry of the cause ! I do not suspect him of timidity, in one sense at least, but I believe he would rather keep company with a hyena than with a Radical. . . . I am not sure whether he has learned the rule which ought here to be constantly observed : the rule never to deny, or utter what may be reasonably supposed to imply denial, but at the same time to reserve to one's self the privilege of choosing the period, the circumstances, and the method in which it may be right to put forth the plain and unadulterated dictates of the heart" ("Anthony Heaviside," p. 50). Doyle (RO. p. 73) says that "he remained rather as he had begun, a brilliant schoolboy, to the end of his life." Many studies of his evangelical work have been published.

will vote for him: Wilder I cannot decide about, & Durnford [1] (a very bad member, by the bye) will vote as Wilder does. Altogether I am pretty confident that Sir Bob will carry the day, unless your eloquence should burst in in a flash of lightning & scare the Walpolians from their post.

Our question next Saturday is upon the character of Augustus: a good subject which is expected to draw out the latent genius of the Antiques, i.e. those who like no politics but those of Noah's Ark, & others of that standing. What think you of the political horizon? The Duke of York, the prop of the Ultra-Protestants, & foe to Catholic Liberties is no more: the Duke of Clarence,[2] Heir Presumptive of the Monarchy, is supposed, nay, known to be favorable to their claims; how great, how important is the alteration, & what a prospect does it open before us? This is the first, & grand topic: interesting, (though) in a far inferior degree, is the probable result of the Portugue(se diss)-ensions: [3] it seems our generals are hated, our troops avoided, o(ur ver)y name abhorred, as a badge of dependence by the best & firmest of the Constitutionalists: this is without doubt a very awkward state of affairs, & if Canning can turn rancour into affection, discord into quiet, he is indeed worthy of the undivided empire of Æolus. Then the Duke of Wellington Commander in Chief! The Duke of Wellington [4] a Cabinet-minister! The Duke of Wellington master of the Ordinance! The Duke of Wellington wielding so enormous a weapon of influence &

[1] Edmund Durnford: K.S.: King's, 1827: Rector of Munxton, Andover: VIth Form, 1826: an F. E. Durnford was Assistant-Master, 1839-64, and Lower Master in 1864.

[2] Later William IV.

[3] See *Political Life*, cap. XV. The death of John VI. on March 10, 1826, made Portugal the centre of intrigue, and civil war (Wade). The insurrections following the "Constitution" of Dom Pedro (p. 173, Vol. III.). Canning was soon "employed in neutralising the open, or concealed efforts of the enemies of constitutional freedom to deprive the Portuguese nation of the gift" (p. 194). International intrigue kept the quarrel alive, Britain interfered against Spain, Dec., 1826: Canning's *address* had various results, embarrassing the French ministers, and infuriating the Congregationists. Britain considered her troops essential to Portuguese peace.

[4] In Canning's ministry, Wellington was displaced by the Marquis of Anglesea.

patronage from the very citadel of the Ministry! Here is monopoly; here is precedent; here is ambition with a vengeance! So much for reveries *περὶ πολιτικῶν*. Write to me about hunting, shooting, drinking, billiard-playing, Unionising, sapping,[1] anything, or everything will be most acceptable to [2]

Yours very faithfully
A. H. HALLAM.

W. W. Farr, Esq.,
St. John's College,
Cambridge.
A. H. H.

(Postmark: Feb. 1, 1827.)

VI.

DEAR FARR,

I should have answered your letter immediately (the rather, in the hope of infusing a little life into our correspondence, & curing both of us of sending our letters, "like angel visits, few & far between") but I have been prevented by serious illness. N.B. I leave it to your Johnian imagination to extract, shape, & polish a horrid pun, now in embryo, & from which I refrain, about a *valid* excuse, & an *invalid*—Verbum sap. I am hopelessly ignorant about the Corn laws; & as I am scarcely strong enough in my convalescence to train for the tournament yet, suppose we defer the crash of lances to a future occasion. I have not your letter before me, & forget whether you speak ill of Canning's [3] resolutions: it was of course impossible that he

[1] "Sapping," studying.

[2] (Possibly in Farr's hand) at back of letter, the following list (members of the Society): "A. H. Hallam,—Wilder, Durnford, Law, Pickering, Selwyn, Gladstone, Hallam, Doyle, Wentworth, Jelf, Canning, Gaskell."

[3] See *Political Life of Canning* (p. 329): "The freedom of individual action and discussion to all Members of the Government, on what is called the Catholic Question, without prejudice to any man's fair political pretensions, on account of the opinion which he might happen to hold upon that question." Stapleton writes of the alliance with the Whigs: "he could hardly have avoided (it) without either damaging the cause of Roman Catholic emancipation and bringing doubts upon his own sincerity, or violating one of the cardinal doctrines of toryism by refusing to assist the king against an aristocratic cabal." He took office, April 10. It had been arranged previously that Canning and Lord Liverpool were to bring forward motions for alteration of the Corn Laws, and Burdett a motion on Catholic Emancipation.

should act up to the wishes of both parties, but he seems at least to have not offended the more reasonable part of either. The friends of Free Trade seem to admire his principle, & pardon his timidity: the advocates of a Prohibitory System appear to trust to his caution, & to breathe again from their anticipation of danger. You do not mention the *Catholics*,[1] perhaps from a feeling of chivalrous generosity, as not wishing to exult over a fallen foe! I must confess I had no expectation of that blow: I was taken completely by surprise: not that I was sanguine enough to look for success in the House of Peers, but a majority of 4 against us in the new House of Commons was what I had never contemplated. God grant the question may be settled soon; & *that without blood!* The papers talk of an association amongst the Irish Catholics[2] to stop all communication with England, in the way of trade, articles of consumption &c.: this is *precisely what the Americans did.* Indeed the resemblance throughout seems to me awful: your orators think this vote will tranquillise Ireland; I wish I could see tokens of peace, of tranquillity, of social order, & right supremacy. I do *not* see them. I look forwards; but it is to the dismal, & blackening horizon! I listen; but it is to the low mutterings of the rising tempest! So you are become very orthodox about William Pitt. There are some opinions of that great man, which I wish you would become a hearty convert to; but I am afraid your idea of *Pittism* is much like that of John Bull, & the party[3] which professes to dread a concealed spirit of Jacobinism in every attempt to improve on the wisdom of our ancestors by the wisdom of our own days, or to diffuse the blessings of knowledge amongst the poor, whom it is alike our duty & our interest to protect, & enlighten. I shall be glad if my fears are unfounded. Now then, to send politics at once in malam rem, for Eton news. Our friend Gladstone seems to find a congenial atmosphere in the 6th form, & is dignified towards lower boys; a species of rigor which is nowadays most rare, as the inferiors are more presuming, & the superiors more lax than I ever reme(mber).

[1] The Bill had been turned out: see notes *supra*.
[2] The Catholic Association: Goulbourn had carried a Bill in 1825 to suppress it.
[3] The Tories.

Jack Sandford [1] is not in, which we vote a shame. I (shall) not be in till (so)me weeks of next term have passed over (. . .) by the bye, weeks have done lately with a (. . .) celerity. In the Society we have had a spirited session: I send you a list of our questions, I mean, such as have been debated, & hope you will do the same in return as to the Union.

1. Has the conduct of England to Ireland from the Rev^{n} to 1776 been right?
2. Augustus, is he to be admired?
3. Sir R. Walpole, did he deserve well of his country?
4. Lord Bute, was his political conduct laudable?
5. Wat Tyler, was his insurrection right?
6. *Mohammed*, is he to be admired?
7. Anne, or Elizabeth, which *literary* period was brightest?
8. Herodotus, or Xenophon, which gives the most credible account of Cyrus?

Carried for the

1. Noes
2. Noes
3. Ayes
4. Noes
5. Noes
6. Noes
7. Elizab.
8. Xenop.

Of all these, the most interesting, & novel, was the debate on *Mahomet:* I defended him, because I think the gentleman much calumniated, & a great man for his times, & country: I was however left in a minority of 3. *φεῦ*. Next Saturday we discuss whether "Greece excelled most in the drama, or in history": Saturday after, "Was the revolt of the Yorkists under Henry VI justifiable?" I am a Lancastrian. We have one choice Radical amongst us, *Law:* he affords us much amusement

[1] John Sandford: Up. V., 1826: John Bracebridge Sanford: born at Patna, India (HECS): barrister of Milton, Northants. See JRL. 339, 7, for account of his attempt to "adopt the classical doctrines of Homer and Horace with regard to wine": Gladstone then felt (March 29, 1827) that Keate would keep him out of the Sixth.

& has spirit enough to raise his voice amidst coughs,[1] & disapprobation interminable as Mr. Hume, or the National Debt. The other day we fined him for saying " Mahomet selected from every religion what was purest in each : but he imposed no useless liturgies, & every Moslem was a priest to himself ! " Have I any chance of seeing you in London ? If you have time, throw away a letter on me before next Tuesday week, when the holidays begin. I suppose Gladstone will be re-elected Chairman : [2] Prime minister of England not quite so certain.

Believe me
Ever faithfully yours
A. H. HALLAM.

W. W. Farr Esq.
St John's College
Cambridge.
A. H. H.

(Postmark : 26 Mar. 1827.)

VII.

Hawtrey's Eton
Sunday Evening.

DEAR FARR,

In obedience to your command I sit down to answer, & hope to keep up a pretty brisk discharge of correspondence this term, as I shall be " over the hills, & far away "soon after Election. In a word I am going abroad then—ay, abroad, & may I spend the Election half under a chaldron of the Pope's [3] best, if I envy the fittest of your county squires, while I revel in the sunny places of Tuscany, or repose beneath the majestic ruins of the Eternal City ! O che bel riposo ! However to drop things future for things present, I have been doing little else since this morning when I received your tirade against Canning, than laugh at it even to bursting. I agree, the aspect of affairs is marvellously queer : & what may happen two months hence, perhaps " his dark complexioned Majesty " (as someone calls

[1] Gaskell's organised " Treasury Bench."
[2] See note *supra :* he was not elected chairman.
[3] Favourite reference to " Purgatorial Coals."

the Devil) may know, but I can't conjecture. I was at the House of Commons last Thursday, when I had the good fortune to hear Canning, Brougham,[1] Peel, & Burdett, & was highly delighted. The Whigs certainly look curious on the Ministerial benches : & Messrs. Dawson,[2] Knatchbull, Lethbridge, & the rest of the Opposition " *numeri* " seem as surprised to find themselves raised to the dignity of a party, & smarting under the lash of ministerial talent. It was the appointed night for General Gascoyne[3] to make his motion on the Shipping Interest, &

[1] H. P. Brougham (1778-1868) later baron Brougham and Vaux. Sir R. Peel (see DNB) had made up his mind to resign if an individual favourable to the Catholics stood at the head of government.

Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844). See DNB.

[2] Dawson, brother-in-law of Peel, was the one who made the famous declaration before the Catholic organisations in 1828 of the coming of Emancipation : it was followed by Wellington's letter to Dr. Curtis : O'Connell took a copy of the letter to the Catholic Association.

Sir Edward Knatchbull (1781-1849).

During Liverpool's illness, Lethbridge (see note *supra*) had tried to force formation of an anti-catholic government.

[3] Isaac Gascoyne (1770-1841) : M.P. for Liverpool, 1802-30 : for Stapleton on his " shipping interest " motion see *Political Life of Canning*, and *note* below, Vol. III., pp. 346 ff. The debates of the parties continued from day to day, the several parties explained their position and vindicated their principles. On fourteen occasions the ministry continued to be discussed. . . . The incident of the interruption of Gascoyne's speech is described, p. 389 (*Political Life*, Vol. III.) : it took place on May 3, 1827 : " In the House of Commons, the night following the first debate in the House of Lords, the debate originated with Mr. Dawson, who, in an irregular way, interrupted General Gascoyne in his speech upon the shipping interest, by stating that he had a question of considerable importance to put to the head of His Majesty's government. At that moment Mr. Canning was not in the House ; but while a few words were passing between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Dawson, on the subject of his absence, he himself entered. Mr. Dawson then asked his question." It referred to certain offices and ending with an appeal to bring up the Catholic question. Brougham rose " to second the motion," ironically : " the especial course to ruin (the Catholic) interests, was for them to follow the advice which that Honourable Gentleman and his friends threw out to them." Brougham supported the government. Canning rose in order to obtain Gascoyne his hearing : Peel got up, avowedly for the same purpose, but launched into an attack on the government's supporters, in a speech of less moderation than was expected. In his speech he attacked Lord Russel, and also asked " why the Public Offices were filled with merely fugacious Ministers." There followed speeches from Burdett and Knatchbull. Canning then declared his opposition to Reform and Test Act Repeal : Dawson replied and Sir George Warrander closed the debate. Next evening the attack was renewed.

consequent attack on Huskisson: But scarcely had the gallant general got beyond "Mr Speaker, I rise"—when the juvenile ardor of the new Opposition leader burst forth, & Mr. Dawson requested permission to ask a question of the First Minister: poor Gascoyne courteously gave way, little expecting what followed. Instead of a question only, Dawson brings a motion! head & shoulders into the middle of the Opener's speech!! He moved "that copies of the commissions of Judge Advocate, & Master of the Mint be laid on the table," & not content with Canning's assurance that those offices were about to be filled, launches into a tirade against the "unnatural coalition" that had taken place, reckoning up with the minutest care every division in which the Whigs had voted against Government, & unfolding a long list of questions on which they still differed, *Parliamentary Reform* being first on the list. Well—up rises Brougham, & doubtless to the great dismay of the defeated *general*, makes a beautiful speech at Dawson of an hour long: really I do not know a better model of oratorical delivery than Brougham: never having heard him before, I was prepared to expect very fine speaking, but his eloquence went beyond my expectation. He reprobated the introducing a factious debate into the middle of another: severely satirised the virulence of the new Opposition; & defended himself, & his friends for joining the Premier, on the ground of their general agreement on all great points of Foreign, & Domestic Policy: Reform, he said, never had been a party question,[1] & its various shades & uncertain nature effectually precluded its being one. *Peel* now rose from the bench under the gallery, & made a capital speech—full of much able reasoning, & not a little bitter invective—as different from his exposè as open attack always must be from professed neutrality. He could not, he said, give his confidence to such a provisional government as the present, & therefore could not give it his support. Why was this *coalition* made? Was it because *Prerogative* was endangered? "This" said he "may be a good ground for your sacrificing the Catholics & Reform to rally round the Crown; but if this is your ground

[1] See note *supra*.

for coalescing, why *don't you put it on that ground?* (*Loud Cheering.*) Why do the leaders of that honorable party, the Whigs, shrink from active support, & leave the offices of state to be filled up by *fugacious* ministers? (*Loud Cheers.*) Is it because there are some inconvenient questions in that *notice-book?* (*Cheers.*) The Repeal of the Test Act,[1] for example! For my part I wish to see the Whigs excluded from *power*, but I do not wish to see them lowered, & dishonoured in the eyes of the country." Burdett answered Peel very cleverly: why, he asked, did that gentleman retire, but because he thought *Canning's* advancement would promote the Catholic Emancipation: " & what " said Burdett, " is *my* reason, & *my* vindication for joining him!" *Knatchbull* then rose, & asked " Why Canning dared not answer the Ex-minister *himself*, but left it all to such men as Burdett, & Brougham?" On this the Premier got in a rage: & treated the " *spes altera* " of the County Gentlemen very uncourteously: he then said, " I am asked what I mean to do, if Reform is brought forwards. OPPOSE IT! If the Test Act? On that point, though it has never in my time been before the House, I entertain a decided opinion. I WILL OPPOSE IT, because I think that repeal would injure the cause I have most at heart, *Emancipation!* It has ever been the aim of my life, to redress *practical* & not *theoretical* grievances." Lord John Russel then spoke a few words, & Sir George Warrender[2] stated, that what he had seen that night of faction in the opposition was such, as to determine him to give up all, even *hot dinners*, to attend every meeting in support of the Premier!! Dawson's motion was put, & negatived *by acclamation:* & the unhappy general, foaming with his disappointment, (& really he had some right to be wroth, after so cruel an illustration of the proverb " between the cup & the lip &c. ") postponed his luckless motion.

[1] *Supra.*

[2] See Gronow's *Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 2: " the late Sir George Warrender (who was styled by his friends Sir George Provender, being famed for his good dinners) . . ." Gronow prints a portrait of his *back* as frontispiece to Vol. II.

I don't agree that the Whigs have scrambled for place: no man with an honest heart, or a sound pair of eyes, could say so *seriously*: more disinterested conduct *on all sides* & *from all parties* has seldom, I should think, been known: but I do agree with you, that it is very odd Lord Lansdown,[1] & his friends, should delay coming in: nor do I believe any good reason *can* be given. That they are not "afraid to identify themselves with the Premier," as you suppose, is pretty clear. I heartily wish well to Canning, & am not without vivid hopes, as well as anxiety about the future. Are you an amateur of *the Watchman*?[2] Write soon—if you do, or if you don't, I shall certainly write again quickly.

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully
A. H. HALLAM.

W. W. Farr Esq.
St John's College
Cambridge.
A. H. H.

(Postmark: ( ) 8, 1827.)

VIII.

Eton: Hawtrey's.
Saturday Evening.

DEAR FARR,

You may well wonder at my not answering your letter, after my many solemn protestations of punctual intention. But, out upon it! "*Hell is paved with good intentions*": & unpunctuality in letter-writing is a sin, of all others, against which the strongest resolutions are oftenest made, & for which, the strongest resolutions have, time out of mind, been broken. However, as you are so fond of accusing me of not telling you

[1] Lord Lansdowne (1780-1863), see DNB: entered the Cabinet without office, 1827, resigned 1828. See also *Political Life of Canning*.

[2] *The Watchman*: one number of this periodical appeared: price 3d., on Sat., Sept. 2, 1826: *The Watchman* and *Police Recorder*, gave police news, business cases, court business between employers and workmen, under heads of Police Courts. But the reference is likely to a (lost) political journal?

enough about Eton news, I hope to be able to redeem my character by communicating to you a scheme, which has been lately set up here. & which is going on in the most prosperous manner. To come to the point at once—a periodical paper is, *I may say, in the press*, intended as a successor, perhaps not an unworthy one, of the *Etonian*,[1] & *Microcosm*, and to be published under the name of the " *Eton Miscellany* " on the 4th of June. Selwyn is our prime man : Gladstone, Doyle, Hanmer,[2] Rogers, Gaskell, your " chèr " Pickering, & several others whom you know less of, are in the list of our club. Now, whether you, having so long left the precincts of Eton, would chuse to " *cast one longing, lingering look behind* " or whether, in full flush of Johnian dignity you look down on us poor citizens of a lesser world, I cannot of course presume to determine, till you answer this letter. I dare say, being a somewhat whimsical fellow, it will depend on the peculiar humor in which you receive this : but remember, *the honor of Eton is at stake ;* the *Eton Miscellany* will go forth to battle in the name of all the Etonians of the rising generation ; nor do I understand how a man of your plain, staunch, old-English, *Tory* principles can hesitate to throw what weight he may possess into the scale, in which the talent, & industry of *Alma Mater* are balanced ! Don't sneer at this, coming from a Whig : & don't quote *Timeo Danaos* &c. because it is so horridly hacknied : but just sit down & think fairly, whether you have time, & patience, & steadiness enough to be of use to us (which of course we are all most desirous you should be) : & tell us at once, if you think it is a bore. With regard to the nature of the work, as far as we can judge from the first number which is *finished, & in Ingalton's*[3] *hands*, it will consist of miscellaneous articles,

[1] June 4 was a well-chosen date. See account of Eton Literature in Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 406 ff. The *Etonian* by Praed and Blunt, the *Microcosm*, with Frere and Canning. The fabled personalities were (*Etonian*) Peregrine Courtenay, (*Microcosm*) Gregory Griffin, (*Eton Miscellany*) Batholomew Bouverie : there followed 1828 *The Oppidan*, 1832 *The Eton College Magazine*, 1833 *The Kaleidoscope*, etc.

[2] Hanmer (John) (1809-81) of Hanmer Hall, Flintshire (HECS) : see DNB. Rogers (Frederick) (1811-89) : see DNB : 1826, Up. V.

[3] Ingalton : published the *Miscellany :* see ref. in Maxwell-Lyte (p. 358) to his purchasing C. R. Sumner's " The White Nun " for £5 : T. Ingalton : the family continued to be publishers.

some in the shape of essays, (à la Spectator, or Microcosm), some in that of reviews, or humorous pieces ; (of which latter we have one instance so exquisite, by Selwyn,[1] that, if it does not make people laugh, when printed, as much as it has us, in manuscript, I shall be very much out of humor with the invention of printing) interspersed with poetry &c. & the whole got up under the supposed superintendence, & editorship of Mr. *Bartholomew Bouverie*,[2] who, we hope, will ere long take his seat by the side of *Peregrine Courtenay*, & *Gregory Griffin*. At any rate, I suppose we may depend on you for procuring us an extensive sale at Cambridge, & for spreading the intelligence far & wide over the habitable globe. Remember the 4th of June, Mr. Bouverie makes his appearance in print, & thenceforward, should he meet with success, publishes every fortnight. I will only add about this, that I should have mentioned it to you before, but that I thought it better to wait till it was tolerably matured, & till things could safely be left " aller son train " ! I did however speak of it to Frere,[3] in the very outset of the business, as wishing to secure Tennyson,[4] & others, who were friends of his, & by no means untried in composition. Frere however decidedly threw cold water on the thing : & so did Puller,[5] to whom I applied at Oxford ; but away with such cold, calculating spirits ! and let me have a letter soon to assure me of what I am already convinced, that William Windham Farr is made of better stuff !

The Society, although at the present moment Mr. Bouverie has a little distracted our attention, has gone on (with a) remarkable spirit. We have been regularly organised (as parties set) on different sides of the House. Gask(ell's Treasury) men, as we call them, consisting of Pick(ering, J)elf, Wilde(r), Canning : [6]

[1] Selwyn's contribution to No. 1. Possibly the " Eton Dull Club " a trifle dull in itself. The other full contribution is his cleverly rhymed " The Doctor."

[2] See remarks on *Eton Miscellany* and the function of B.B.

[3] Frere, John (Ma.) at Trinity Coll. Cantab. : died 1851 : in 1826 in Form VI.

[4] Tennyson (Frederick). Upper V., 1823.

[5] Puller, Christopher William Giles-Puller, Up. V., 1823 : Ch. Ch. Oxon. : double first, 1828 : M.P. for Herts. : died 1864.

[6] Canning, C. J. (1812-62). Third son of Geo. Canning : 1826 Lower Div. Lower V.

on the opposition benches sit Wentworth, Doyle, Law & myself: on the neutral, or half & half bench, Gladstone & Durnford fix their solitary reign, while Selwyn [1] is in the chair, & votes with the Treasury generally, though he keeps aloof from their intrigues. Our hostility is now much more personal, than it used to be: I don't mean that we quarrel, but that the division is much rather *Gaskell & Anti-Gaskell* than *Whig & Tory*, though the Opposition have certainly a Whig cast of politics, & Law is a Radical. Our questions this term have been,

I. *Hampden*, or *Lord Clarendon*, which deserved best of his country? Carried for the latter.
II. *Leo X*, or *Lorenzo de Medici*, which most benefited the fine Arts? Carried for the latter.
III. *Marquis of Montrose*, did he deserve well of his country? The Ayes have it.

I suppose you are crying your eyes out over the list of the *glorious minority of sixty-three* who were defeated in the Lords on Canning's Corn-bill.[2] What is to be the next yell of the new Opposition, now they can no longer carp at a Provisional Government? Lord Lansdown & his friends have acted perfectly right in coming in now: but I cannot make out, nor can any one else, why they did not come in before. We take in the St. James's [3] Chronicle, & a queer concern it is: as far as impudence, &

[1] Selwyn succeeded Gladstone. According to Wilkinson (p. 201), "Order, order" was the chief task of the Chairman of "Pop."

[2] See "*Political Life*," pp. 432-450. March 1, 1827, Canning and Huskisson introduced a Bill arranging sliding-scales of duties on foreign wheat, which passed the Commons by large majorities before the Easter Recess. In the House of Lords, May 25, Lord Goderich moved the committal. Lord Malmesby moved an amendment: Goderich's motion was carried by 120 to 63. "The majority on this occasion included all the ex-ministers, and the minority was only composed of all the professed opponents to any measure, which should lessen the impediments to the importation of corn." Wellington later on engineered the insertion of a prohibitory clause which had the effect of nullifying the Bill (pp. 437-438). Canning did not bring in a fresh Bill (p. 444), "the chief labour of the session frustrated." In June the Government tried to counteract the clause when Canning proposed and carried amendments to Mr. Western's motion of June 18 (the anniversary of Waterloo!) which finally passed the Lords on the 25th.

[3] *St. James's Chronicle*, tri-weekly Tory journal: strong anti-catholic bias.

No-Poperyism compensate for argument, & clear reasoning, this paper certainly deserves admiration.

I am particularly amused with a gentleman called "*Cyrus*," but also might just as well have signed himself *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, for any reason that I can discover, & who coolly assumes an equality with *Junius*, in order to consign the names of *Grafton* & *Canning* to "*equal* infamy"! I rather like though the motto of the St. James's *twin-imp*, the *Standard*,[1] "Signifer Statue signum &c." So you see, I am an impartial foe at least,

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully,
A. H. HALLAM.

P.S. Write soon; & give us an answer—about Bouverie. Adieu.

W. W. Farr, Esq.
St John's College,
Cambridge.
A. H. H.

(Postmark: 28 May, 1827.)

IX.

Hawtrey's. Eton.
Tuesday.

DEAR FARR,

I have not the slightest conception, in what part of the habitable globe you are summering. Sometime ago I heard you were at the Land's end, or thereabouts: but as I suppose Cornwall has no such wonderful attractions for you, that you are still sojourning where

> The mighty vision of the guarded mount
> Looks towards Namancos, and Bayonas hold,

[1] *The Standard* was set up by the old Tories and edited by S. Lees Giffard: May 21, 1827, as an anti-catholic Magazine: the motto: "Signifer Statue Signum Hic Optime Manebimus": see Fig. 101, *The English Newspaper*, Stanley Morison: anti-Canning: strongly (with *St. James's Chronicle*) Wellington: connected interest.

I thought there could be no harm in addressing a letter to Iford House; especially as in another fortnight I shall have left Eton for ever, and, in another after that, shall be crossing the seas to Calais. I shall not come back for a year. I should be sorry therefore to quit England for so long a period without hearing again from you. I shall come up to Granta next October year; by which time I am afraid I shall have ingrafted so many slips of foreign coxcombry on my native stock, that none of my friends will know me. Dî melius faciant! What do you think, as to the propriety of going into the Union—is it really, what some people represent it, very plebeian,[1] or is it the thing? I know my father will want me to sap; so I shall probably be obliged, when I start freshman, to abjure the sweet sin of politics altogether. I should be loth however to let Radical and Tory go on perpetually at loggerheads without throwing my foolish Whig body into the jostle. So you see Lord Lansdown[2] has the Home secretaryship at last; and poor Bourne[3] has dropped into a commissioner of woods & forests, with a good sinecure, and three thousand a year for his three months job! I think Canning has the whiphand of the opposition now, and hope he will keep it; only the sooner he gets rid of Lady Conyngham,[4] if indeed rumour speak true of that lady's influence, the better for his dignity, and the integrity of the national government. They say he is to be down here at Election:[5] and I know some

[1] Cf. Gaskell's view of the two Unions: *cit.*

[2] Lord Lansdowne, continued Home Secretary in the Goderich ministry, 1827: (Aug. 17.)

[3] Sturges Bourne: had been Home Secretary in Canning's administration: see DNB.

[4] Lady Conyngham: general court influence was directed by Lady Conyngham and her husband Henry, Marquis Conyngham, and their power over George IV. was much discussed: but no reference appears to have been made to the lady's influence over Canning directly: Hallam may mean that Canning ought to destroy the Conyngham power to interfere in State affairs. But cf. Gronow, "*Reminiscences*," Vol. II., p. 312, where reference is made to George IV. and Lady Conyngham; "Lady C——, the 'English Pompadour.'" Lord Conyngham was Lord Steward in 1828, and the Tories made great efforts to have him dismissed.

[5] Election Saturday was the last Saturday in July, when the elections to King's College were made, and of course the general grading of all classes in the School was arranged. It was a time for general rejoicings, jollification,

of the sixth form, who have speeches set them about Catiline, Cethegus, and such like rascals, mean to nail the poor Premier most unmercifully. Indeed the feeling against him is so strong throughout the school, that I verily believe, if we were polled,[1] there would be three to one on the Tory side. At one of the match dinners, "The King" having been proposed, some one, who in the heat of wine had somewhat lost the temperature of reason, added "Down with Canning!" Mark the result; out of five and twenty there were not six, who did not drink the toast with acclamations! A confounded bad omen this of the principles of the rising generation! The Society is going on in the most flourishing state imaginable: there are now eighteen members, which if your memory can penetrate so far into the dark abyss of your schoolboy years, you may remember would have been reckoned a famous number. We have good debates; & good speakers. But a thing far more interesting to us has been the *Eton Miscellany*, which we have now carried successfully to as many as five numbers. I hope you have taken us in; and have occasionally whiled away a leisure hour in guessing, and puzzling out the identity of this and that author. The verdict of some competent judges has been, that we surpass the Etonian: but I much fear, we neither have had, nor shall have any thing so good as Gog,[2] and Godiva[3] were in their manner. The fifth number comes out on Election saturday.[4] i.e. next saturday week; and it will be resumed after the holidays, when however none of any weight, except Doyle & Gladstone, who are indeed a host in themselves, will remain to support it.

the streets being thronged with visitors from the Universities, and the Town, boat-races, etc., being the order of the day, all done in the height of style, with many other traditional ceremonies: all damages were paid for, and the townsfolk made good profits out of these events. See *The English Spy*.

[1] It appears that Selwyn made the toast. The incident is much remembered in the several *Memoirs*. Compare the characteristic of Selwyn pointedly referred to in the *Miscellany* portrait.

[2] "Gog"; *The Etonian*, Vol. I., p. 207, and Vol. II., p. 307, two Cantos are signed by "Fred. Golightly" (elsewhere Francis): i.e. Praed.

[3] "Godiva," A Tale: *The Etonian*, No. 2, p. 149, is signed G. M.: i.e. John Moultrie. Both pieces are amusing and clever, and in "Godiva" *G. M.* refers to his friend *Golightly*.

[4] See *supra*: timely appearance of a number, and especially the last of a volume.

I remember, when we used to talk over the idea of a new Etonian, little dreaming one would be started in our lifetime, we used to set poor William Ewart down for nothing but Methodist hymns. Let me tell you however,

> " there are more things in heav'n, and earth, Horatio,
> than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

Gladstone has shewn a great deal of sound sense, and a great deal of powerful talent in this publication. But enough of this—it is too bad to worry you about what perhaps you have never read—I mean, our miscellany: so, hoping to have a letter from you soon,

I remain,
Your most faithful friend
A. H. HALLAM.

Is there no chance of seeing you at Election?

PS. There have been some exquisite matches [1] here in the water. First of all, six of Chapman's pupils pulled the School, and beat them. Secondly, the tenoar pulled the ten of the rest of the school—which made a magnificent race. Thirdly there was a very good skiff sweepstakes—very cleverly won. The sixes are not yet pulled. Vale.

W. W. Farr Esq.
Iford House
Christchurch
Hants.

[1] See R. Blake-Humfrey's "*Eton*" (T. C. Selwyn): boating was not a "recognised" sport but much indulged in: the special occasions were the "fourth of June" and "Election Saturday": House Fours were not instituted until 1856: the first-mentioned match was between a House and the School: the second between the ten-oar crew and the "rest": James Chapman was at King's in 1818 and Assistant Master at Eton, 1822-35: Bp. of Colombo: Fellow of Eton, 1862 (HECS): races between 6's and 8's of Houses became very popular, normally in important races, "stroke" was a Cad and experienced waterman. The ten-oar was first in the list of boats and usually named the "Monarch": after 1828 it was stroked by the "Captain of the Boats": the "Sweepstakes" were the "Sculling Sweepstakes" (see Maxwell-Lyte, p. 420): the "Sixes" were the annual House events: see p. 420 cited; the list of boats in 1814 included a ten-oar, four eight-oars and one six-oar: the organisation did not change much in the succeeding decade (although, of course, the actual boats did!). There is mention of a *second* ten-oar. The Selwyn Account (in "Greek") (R. H. Blake-Humfrey) is of interest.

X.

67 Wimpole St
Thursday.

DEAR FARR,

I suppose this letter, for the shortness of which I throw myself on your mercy, will reach you at Iford. If it does not, tant pis—as I am afraid I shall not in that case hear from you before I start; which I purpose doing next Monday week. Are you exulting, and triumphing in poor Canning's [1] melancholy fate? I hope not—for the honour of human nature. As a man, and as a man of genius, all parties can hardly help lamenting him; unless indeed those who are irremediably blinded by the bad passions of bigotry. I trust however, and hope, that the decided majority of rank, and talent in the country grieve for his loss, as a minister; as one, whose principles were sureties to the nation at large for his political integrity, and practical wisdom; who by the administration he formed, and the just, necessary, and spirited coalition which he affected, separated at once the good, and the bad, the just, and the intolerant, the constitutional, and the factious, by a broad line of demarcation. He shewed the King to the commonalty, as a faithful guardian of that peace, and security, those rights, and franchises, which he is trusted in his high office to protect: he shewed to that King a confiding, and patriotic people, who wished for nothing more than what they had then obtained, a national government. Short as his administration unhappily proved, it was long enough to devise the Treaty for pacifying [2] Greece, and to plan many a scheme of retrenchment, and reform. His situation, as regards the Catholics, was unpleasant: but there was vigor and address enough in him to have surmounted the difficulty. What is to become of England, or it may be said, of Europe, is a problem

[1] Canning's friends traced his illness to the chill caught at the burial of the Duke of York. His death was the signal for an outburst of praise and appreciation and somewhat strengthened his political policy.

[2] The Pacification of Greece: see "*Political Life*," p. 284. It was Canning's last act in Greek affairs: and a treaty was signed on July 6. A settlement of Greece followed in March, 1829, after the defeat of Ibrahim: the national integrity of Greece was proclaimed, and the settlement was made by the allies without concert with the Porte, or the President and Congress at Argos.

too difficult for solution. The coming in of the Tories [1] is too fearful to be thought on: things already seem advancing with rapid strides towards a revolution [2] in France; and what effect the convulsive writhings of England under a Tory administration would have, is rather to be imagined, than described. All this, I suppose, is Hebrew to you. You of course would like nothing better, than a neat set of fellows, who would hurl us into war with Ireland, and throw down the gage of defiance to Whigs, and Liberalists. I hope your aspirations will not be realised however; and that the King's wisdom will raise up Lansdowne, or Goderich [3] to be our defenders.

Did Gladstone send you the *Miscellany*? If he did, let me know your opinion thereof.

Leaving Eton is a horrid bore just at the moment. The "antique towers" look more agreeable, than they ever did before: and the Playing-fields, one finds out, are very pretty, pleasing, and inviting, just, when one presses them for the last time. Keate was civility personified, and asked me for my picture.[4] My tutor [5] too grinned as gracious a grin, as his native ugliness permitted. I shall be in London, till I go: and a desolate dreary place it is, in August. Di meliora &c. I hope to be very happy abroad, unless a revolution happens, and they hang me for a Carbonari. Should I be taken up to the mountains by the

[1] Hallam feared the accession to power of Wellington.

[2] In 1827 France was the scene of the contests between the Royalists and the Liberals: at the end of April the King was greeted by the National Guard on review with cries of *à bas les ministres!*: there followed coercive measures, press-censorship and the dissolution of the Deputies.

[3] Goderich (1782-1859) succeeded Canning: he resigned 1828. See DNB.

[4] The Eton portrait of Hallam shows a dark-haired, dark-eyed, rubicond face: his enemies described it as a "sensual" face, and argued thus against his reputation, clinching the matter with a reference to his having once contradicted his father at dinner: an "almost beery-looking young man, with a sly and sensual cast of the eye." A. C. Benson, *Fasti*, p. 345.

For opinions of Hallam, see *R.O.* pp. 40 ff.; *Memoir*, 45, 464, 499, *RES.* 179; Gladstone, "Personal Recollections," *Daily Telegraph*, Wed., Jan. 5, 1898; Henry Hallam (*To W. S. Rose*), B.M. Add. 36714, 331 (July 10, 1834), "His mind was so peculiar, that the world could never appreciate its finer and rarer qualities:" the fine tribute in the *Remains:* J. M. Kemble (*Memoir*, 105), "Sibimet ipsis dolorem abstulerunt suis reliquere."

[5] Hawtrey.

banditti, you may expect a letter, containing one of my ears, and imploring you to collect a ransom, for the sake of "Auld lang syne." But I see I am running into sad nonsense; (and how can London in August [1] supply one with anything better?) so I must cry "Hold enough." . . .

PS. Write soon, if you receive this. If you should be absent, and do not—why then I won't press you to write! Vale.

(W). Wyndham (Farr Esq)
(Ifo)rd House
(C)hristchurc(h)
Han(ts)
(A. H. H.)

[1] "The silly Season."

ABERDEEN: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS